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FRESH LIGHT ON THE POST-AŚOKAN HISTORY OF KAUŚĀMBĪ

K. D. BAJPAI

Kauśāmbī (now Kosam in the Allahabad district), the capital of the Vatsa kingdom, finds numerous references in ancient Indian literature. Its name occurs in several historical inscriptions, sealings and coins found at Kosam and in the region around. A large number of sculptural and architectural remains, terracotta figurines and other relics eloquently speak of Kauśāmbī as a great centre of art in northern India, particularly during the period between the third century B. C. and the sixth century A. D. Prior to this period, during the days of the Buddha, Udayana was the ruler of Vatsa, who married Vāsavadattā, the beautiful daughter of king Pradyota of Ujjayinī. In the Maurya period, Kauśāmbī again came to prominence. Aśoka, the great Maurya emperor, had a liking for Kauśāmbī. This flourishing town was situated on the main trade-route joining Pāṭaliputra and Śrāvastī in the north with Vidiśā and Ujjayinī in the south. Aśoka erected an inscribed pillar at Kauśāmbī (which is *in situ*). The capital and other remains of an Aśokan pillar are reported to have recently been unearthed.

After Aśoka's death the Maurya empire was disintegrated. Pushyamitra Śuṅga, who killed the last Maurya ruler Bṛihadratha, succeeded in occupying a considerable portion of the Maurya empire in the north. Sooner or later, Pushyamitra seems to have shifted his capital from Pāṭaliputra to Kauśāmbī.[1] Kauśāmbī since then came to occupy an important political position, which continued till the rise of the Guptas.

After the death of Pushyamitra or during his last days the Śuṅga empire seems to have been divided (among his sons) into several independent kingdoms. These kingdoms were: (1) Pāṭaliputra or Magadha, (2) Kauśāmbī or Vatsa (including sometime major parts of south-western Magadha and parts of the southern Āṭavika territory), (3) Vidiśā or Daśārṇa, (4) Ayodhyā or north Kosala, (5) Ahichchhatrā or north Pañchāla, and (6) Mathurā or Śūrasena. These kingdoms were related among themselves, as is borne out by inscriptional evidence, particularly in the cases of Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Pañchāla.

1. No epigraphic or other records of Pushyamitra or his immediate successors are known from Pāṭaliputra or thereabout. They are, however, known from the region between Ayodhyā and Bharhut.

Pushyamitra's eldest son Agnimitra is known to have made Vidiśā as his head-quarter[1]. From there he could look after not only Daśārṇa and western Malwa, but also the southern region upto Vidarbha. Agnimitra's son Vasumitra is credited with having defeated the Yavanas (Greeks) on the bank of the Sindhu (tributary of the Chambal river). But it appears that soon after, the Scythians started their inroads on Malwa from the Saurāshṭra side. These foreigners could not be checked and eventually they succeeded in occupying a part of the western Malwa during the reign of the later Śuṅgas.[2] Agnimitra and his successors could rule over Vidiśā for a period of about 76 years. The last ruler Devabhūti was killed by Kāṇva[3] Vasudeva. The latter and his three successors held parts of the Vidiśā region for a period of only 45 years according to the Purāṇas. The Kāṇvas were succeeded by the Sātavāhanas in the eastern Malwa.

The cases of other territories in the north were somewhat different. In so for as Magadha is concerned, we have so far been able to get the names of only a few kings[4] with Mitra-ending names, assignable to the period between 1st cent. B. C. and 2nd cent. A.D. It seems that there was no Mitra dynasty as such in Magadha which could have continued its rule for a considerable time. I think that major parts of Magadha were under the rulers of Kauśāmbī,[5] whose coins and inscriptions are known from various parts of Bihar also. My contention is that Bahasatimitra of Khāravela's Hāthīgumphā inscription is no other than the Brihaspatimitra[6] of the Kauśāmbī coins, (known in quite large number). This Bahasatimitra is called '*Magadha-*

1. Vidiśā having been made the headquarter of the main Śuṅga line, it was probably in the fitness of things that Antialkides, the Greek ruler of Taxila, sent his ambassador Heliodorus to Vidiśā and not to any other capitals, such as Ahichchhatrā, Mathura or Kauśāmbī Besides Agnimitra and Vasumitra, the other rulers of the Vidiśā house bearing Mitra-ending names are Vajramitra, Revatimitra and Veṇimitra. The last two are known from the Bharhut inscriptions.
2. Recently some coins, bearing apparently Scythian names and assignable to the later half of the 2nd cent. B.C. and early 1st cent. B.C., have been acquired from Ujjain. This and the literary references, such as those of the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, tend to prove the occupation of the Ujjayinī region by the Śakas before 57 B.C.
3. Copper coins from Kauśāmbī bearing the legend '*Kaṇvasya*' may be assigned to the Kāṇva dynasty.
4. E.g., King Visanghamitra known from the Kailvan (dist. Patna) stone inscription dated the year 108 (186 A. D.), *Indian Archaeology–A Review*, 1955-6, p. 29, pl. XLIV, B. The Bodhgaya railing inscriptions gives us the names of kings Brahmamitra and Indrāgnimitra. But these were not the rulers of Magadha (see my paper in. *JNSI*, XXVI, I)
5. See my paper 'Agnimitra of the Vaiśālī sealing', *JUPHS* (N. S.), IX, pt. 2, pp. 87-9.
6. Brihaspatimitra of the Morā (Mathurā) brick inscription also seems to be the same ruler of Kauśāmbī.

rāja' in Khāravela's inscription, alluding thereby to the wide influence of the Kauśāmbī dynasty including Magadha. It should be borne in mind that Magadha of the period under review has not given any typical regional coinage as is the case with Pañchāla, Mathurā or Kauśāmbī.

The reigning period of each of the three dynasties of Ayodhyā, Ahichchhatrā and Mathurā seems to have spread over several hundred years. Majority of the rulers of these families bore Mitra-ending names as is clear from their coins and inscriptions.[1]

The case of Kauśāmbī is, however, different. Here we get almost a continuous chain of rulers from about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. (or earlier) upto the conquest and occupation of the region by Samudragupta in the middle of the 4th cent. A. D.[2] The main points pertaining to the political history of Kauśāmbī during this long period are briefly given below.

The first probable ruler occupying the throne of Kauśāmbī about the middle of the second cent. B. C. was Śuṅgavarmā. One of his copper coins, bearing the legend '*Sugavamasa*' in the Aśokan Brāhmī script and the figure of a horse standing before *yūpa* with some other symbols, has recently been brought to light by the author.[3] The coin is in the collection of Sri Janeshwardas of Allahabad, who acquired it from Kauśāmbī.[4] The epithet *Śuṅga*' in his name, no doubt, shows his affiliation with the Śuṅga house of Pushyamitra. No less significant is the horse standing before a *yūpa* on this coin, especially when we recollect that Pushyamitra Śuṅga is credited with having performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. All the same, at the present state of our knowledge it is not easy to equate Śuṅgavarmā with Puṣyamitra or any other known ruler of the latter's family.

Other early rulers of the Kauśāmbī house known to us are Aṅgarāja and Dhanabhūti. These names, along with a few others of the family, occur in the Bharhut inscriptions referring to the gifts made by king Dhanabhūti. According to the

1. See Allan, *BMC, Ancient India,* pp. 135-39; 169-75; 192-204 and respective Plates.
2. Although the number of the Pañchāla kings known to us now is quite large (see my paper in *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 9-19; pl. I), the same cannot be said of Pañchāla.
3. 'Coin of king Śuṅgavarma from Kauśāmbī' (*Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Patna, no. 5).
4. A coin of king Vishṇudeva bearing similar features has been assigned by Allan (*BMC, Anc. Ind.* p. 147, pl XIX. 13) to the house of Kanauj(?). In fact this latter king also belongs to the Kauśāmbī house. I have shown ((*JNSI*, XXVI, p. 5-6) that there was no independent Mitra dynasty at Kanauj.

inscription No. I, incised on the pillar of the eastern gateway of Bharhut, "the gateway was caused to be made by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputra Agaraja (Aṅgarāja) and grandson of king Gārgīputra Viśvadeva, within the dominion of the Śuṅgas".[1]

I take that Viśvadeva, Aṅgarāja and Dhanabhūti belonged to the Śuṅga house of Kauśāmbī. They were probably the descendants of king Śuṅgavarmā referred to above. The ruling house of Kauśāmbī lent its patronage to the stupa at Bharhut which was located in their territory.

Cunningham had announced the discovery of two coins of king Agarāja, the father of Dhanabhūti. Recently more coins of this king from Kauśāmbī bearing the name *Agarajusa* (exactly as on the Bharhut inscription) have been brought to light.[2] They are of various sizes and weights, showing the important position of the ruler.[3]

I identify Agaraju of the Bharhut inscriptions with Agaraju of the coins. The paleography goes in support of this theory. This king may have ruled over Kauśāmbī about 125 B. C.

We now come to king Dhanabhūti, the son of Aṅgarāja. From the Bharhut inscriptions Nos. 1,2 and 103[4] and the Mathurā pillar inscription of Dhanabhūti (II).[5] We can form a a geneology as under :

Gargī
|
Viśvadeva = Gauptī
|
Agaraju = Vātsī
|
Dhanabhūti = Nāgarakshitā (?)
|
Vadhapāla
|
Dhanabhūti (II) of Mathura.

1. Barua and Sinha, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, pp. 1-2. ; Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pp. 16-17, pl. LIII.
2. Cunningham, Ibid, p. 17 ; *JNSI*, IV, pp. 137-8 ; XXII, pp. 131-33, pl. VI, 21. The reading *Agarajusa* is quite clear on some coins in the author's possession and in the collection of Sri Janeshwardas of Allahabad.
3. The name Aṅgarāja, (I prefer it to Agrarāja ; cf. Vaṅgapāla of Pañchāla) itself possibly implies his sovereignty over the Aṅga kingdom. The contemporary Aṅga is not known to have any *Janapada* coinage of its own.
4. Barua and Sinha, *Bharhut Inscriptions* (pp. 1-3, 30-31).
5. Cunningham, *Op. cit.* pp. 16, 130, pl. LIII.

I am unable to accept the dates assigned to the above by Cunningham.[1] To me it seems that Dhanabhūti I flourished a little before 100 B. C., when the eastern gateway at Bharhut was erected.[2]

Fortunately for us, a clay seal of Dhanabhūti has recently been obtained from Kauśāmbī by Sri Janeshwardás, who has kindly permitted me to publish it. The seal with a decorated and holed knob is 4.4 cm. high and the diameter of its circular bottom is 4.00 cm. The bottom bears a *Swastika* and another symbol (which seems to be a combination of *Indradhwaja* and taurines). The Brāhmī legend written almost in the centre is *Dhanabhūtisa*.[3]

On a close comparision of the characters on this seal with those occurring on the Bharhut inscriptions of Dhanabhūti (Nos. 1. and 103) cited above, I noticed a remarkable similarity. I have, therefore, no doubt that this seal from Kauśāmbī can be attributed to king Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions, whom I take to be the ruler of Kauśāmbī.

The other post-Aśokan rulers of Kauśāmbī with non-Mitra-ending names are Vavaghosa, Aśvaghosa, Jyeshṭhagupta, Parvata, Indradeva, Vishṇudeva, and Dhanadeva, etc. Their period ranges between 1st cent. B. C. and 2nd cent. A.D.

Regarding the Mitra kings of Kauśāmbī, Allan mentioned only four kings in his *Catalogue*[4] Prof. A. S. Altekar brought to light the names of eight more Mitra (and several non-Mitra) rulers of Kauśāmbī.[5] In my list of the Kauśāmbī Mitra kings there are now 25 rulers.[6] Some of these are known to us from inscriptions also.[7] These Mitra kings ruled over the Vatsa kingdom from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A. D., though not necessarily in actual succession to each other, as all of the Kauśāmbī rulers falling under the period did not bear Mitra-ending names.

1. *Op. cit*, p. 16. 130.
2. Cf. Barua *Proceedings of the 4th Oriental Conference* (Allahabad, 1928), pp. 681-92.
3. This interesting seal of Dhanabhūti will shortly be published by the author.
4. *Op. cit*, Intro. pp. XCVI-XCVIII; pp. 150-54. Allan has wrongly attributed (*Op. cit*, p. 172; pl. XXV. 8-11) the coins of Gomitra of Kauśāmbī to Gomitra II of Mathurā.
5. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 1-16; 133-145 and plates.
6. Of these coins, those of Iśvaramitra, Rāmamitra, and Priyamitra have already been published by me (*JNSI*, XV, p. 44-5, pl. II, 5-6; XXII, p. 131, pl. VI, 18-19.). The coins of the rest will be published soon.
7. E.g., Bṛihaspatimitra, Varuṇamitra, Śivamitra, Poṭhamitra and Devamitra.

The Mitras seem to have been succeeded by the Maghas. The first Magha ruler Bhīmasena extended his authority from Kauśāmbī to Bandhogarh (in the Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh). Nine Magha rulers are mentioned in the Purāṇas, but their number as now known from coins and inscriptions is more than nine.[1]

The Mitras and the Maghas of Kauśāmbī were independent rulers and they did not bear allegience to any foreign power. The theory advanced by certain scholars that the Kauśāmbī region for a considerable time remained under the supremacy of the Kushāṇas, has been refuted by the author.[2]

Kauśāmbī continued to maintain her independent status right upto about the middle of the 4th century A. D., when it was conquered and annexed by Samudragupta to his empire. The contemporary ruler of Vatsa defeated by the Gupta monarch was probably Rudradeva, who is known to us from some copper coins[3] and a clay seal from Jhūsī near Allahabad.

1. For a detailed study of the Maghas and the related kings see my paper 'The Maghas of Kauśāmbī and South Kosala and the Allied problems' published in *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, III, pt. I (1962), pp. 11-21.
2. Ibid.
3. See *JNSI.*, XI, p. 13-14, pl. III, 6. The name on the coin is *Śrīrudra*. Subsequently a few more coins of this ruler have been found at Kauśāmbī.

THE AGNIMITRA PROBLEM

K. D. BAJPAI

[Plate VII]

Several kings bearing the name Agnimitra are known to us in ancient Indian history. They are assignable to a period between the second century B. C. and the first century A. D. The following rulers bear this name :

1. The second Śuṅga ruler, son of Senāpati Pushyaṃitra.
2. A ruler of the Pañchāla dynasty, known from coins.[1]
3. A ruler of Kauśāmbī, known from coins and a brick inscription in the Allahabad Museum.[2]
4. Agnimitra of the Vaiśālī sealing.[3]
5. Indragnimitra known from Bodhgayā railing inscriptions.

It is proposed to discuss here the possibility of identification of these rulers.[4]

In so far as Agnimitra, the son and successor of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, is concerned we have some interesting literary data regarding him indicating that he was a ruler of the Vidiśā region. But the epigraphic or numismatic evidences are silent about him. The coins known from Pañchāla or Kauśāmbī bearing the name Agnimitra cannot be attributed to him with any degree of certainty.[5]

The Pañchāla king Agnimitra is known to us from his numerous coins, usually found in Ahichhatrā and the region around. These coins can be classified under the following types.[6]

1. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pp. CXVII, 199-201, pl. XXVIII, 8-14; XLVI, 15-16.
2. Ibid, pp. XCVI, 153, pl. XX, 5; XXVIII, 15; *JUPHS*, IX, (1961), pp. 87-89.
3. S. R. Roy, *JBRS*, 1959, pp. 313-17; K. D. Bajpai, *JUPHS*, IX (1961), pp. 87-89.
4. B. M. Barua, *Gaya and Buddhagayā* (Calcutta, 1934), pp. 67-69; 119-21.
5. The coin bearing the name Śuṅgavarmā, recently identified by the author in the collection of Sri Janeshwardas of Allahabad, cannot be ascribed to Agnimitra. See my paper in *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, Patna, no. 5.
6. Allan (*Op. cit.*) has described only two of the above types (I and III). Under the third type 2 coins are described and illustrated by him (Plate XLVI, 16 and 15). He wrongly thinks that the countermark on coin no. 15 (ibid, p. 210) is a lion figure. In fact it is a standing female figure, of this type some more clear specimens are now known.

Type I : The obverse bearing the three Pañchāla symbols and the name *Agnimitrasa*, and the reverse a male figure (probably Agni) with flaming hair, standing on a platform between two pillars.[1]

Type II : Fire altar and Triśūla-cum-paraśu Type—This type has not so far been duly noticed by scholars. Two coins of this type in the author's collection are described below :

(A) Copper with traces of silver plating, round 0·5″ ; wt. 20·5 grains. **(Pl. VII. 1)**

Obv. Above, traces of the three Pañchāla symbols. Below Brāhmī legend *Agnimitrasa*.

Rev. Over a railed platform in the centre, fire altar with three flames (representing the three Fires). To its left, trident with axe. To right, a long staff, probably indicating a *dhwaja*. (On some coins an arrow pointing downwards is seen attached to the *dhwaja*).[2]

[B] Copper, round .575″, wt. 26.00 grains **(Pl. VII. 2)**

Obv. Above, traces of the Pañchāla symbols. Below in the centre, legend [*A*] *gnimitrasya*.

Rev. Fire altar on a railing. To left *triśūla*-cum-*paraśu*. To right arrow.

The Brāhmī script of these coins seems to be of the first century A. D. In spite of the slight variations in the forms of the name, there is no doubt that the issuer of both the types mentioned above was one and the same Pañchāla ruler.[3]

Type-III: Counter-mark of the female figure (goddess) over the Panchāla symbols–On such coins we have the figure of a standing female imposed on the Pañchāla symbols.

1. Allan, ibid, pl. XXVIII, 8-14.
2. The occurrence of the trident-cum-axe symbol and the banner on these coins can be compared with the Udumbara coins (Allan, ibid, pp. 122-3, pl. XV) and some copper coins of the Kushāṇa king Wima Kadphises. Cf. the altar and the trident-axe symbols on the Gupta coins. (Allan, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coins*, pl. I. II. VII ; IV, 8-16)
3. In *JNSI*, XXIV (1962), p. 12, a coin of this ruler was wrongly attributed to king Aśvamitra by the author. The second letter was by mistake read as *śva* instead of *gni*. The mistake has now been detected by me after the examination of several clear coins of this type.

The name, of the king is written as usual on the obverse, and the reverse is similar to that of type[1] I.

On some coins of Bhānumitra also we notice a similar countermark.[2]

Type-IV : One (or more) taurine symbol with two vertical strokes attached to it below, replacing the Pañchāla, symbols.[3] One such speciman is described here : Copper, round, 0.5″, wt. 27.50 grains. **(Pl. VII, 3)**

Obv. At the top and in the centre, taurine, each with two vertical strokes below. At bottom legend *[A]gnimitasa.*

Rev. Blurred.

Coming to the coins of Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī[4] we notice that copper coins of various denominations were issued by him. The usual features of these coins are :

Obv. Tree in railing, *Indradhwaja* and a few other symbols with the ruler's name *Agimitasa.*

Rev. Bull, Hill on a railed platform, *nandipada* and cross-and-ball symbols.

On some coins of this ruler we also notice a countermark in the shape of a taurine. The name Agnimitra with the title *rañño* occurs in a brick inscription obtained from Kauśāmbī and now preserved in the Allahabad Museum. I have identified this ruler with his namesake, the issuer of the Kauśāmbī coinage.[5]

The name Agnimitra also occurs on a clay sealing recovered from the Vaiśālī excavations. Looking to the paleography and the common symbols I have identified Agnimitra of this sealing with the Kauśāmbī[6] king of that name.

Regarding the names of the two rulers, Brahmamitra and Indrāgnimitra of the Bodhagaya railing pillars, I had advanced a surmise that these were the rulers of Kauśāmbī.[7] From the coins we know of a Brahmamitra of Kauśāmbī and

1. Allan, *Op. cit*, pl. XLVI, 15 and 16.
2. Vincent Smith, *IMC*, Vol. I, p. XXIII, 3.
3. See *JNSI*, III, pp. 80-81.
4. Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 83, pl. VII, 16) wrongly describes a coin of Agnimitra of Kauśāmbī along with those of the Pañchāla ruler of that name. But the coin-types of the two are different from each other.
5. *JUPHS*, IX, pp. 87-9.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.

another from Mathura,[1] the latter having issued a much larger number of coins. In so far as the names Indramitra and Agnimitra are concerned, both these are known from the Pañchāla dynasty. From Kauśāmbī we know of an Agnimitra, but no Indramitra is known so far from there. One of the Bodhagaya inscriptions (No. 9 of Barua) calls Indāgimitra as son of Kauśikī (*Kosikīputrasa*). We are familiar with such metronymics in the cases of several Mitra rulers and the Maghas of Kauśāmbī (cf. *Gāgīputa, Vācīputa*, etc.). This gives weight to my supposition that the two rulers mentioned in the Bodhgaya inscription may have belonged to the Kauśāmbī house. All the same, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the two rulers in question may have belonged to the Mathura and Pañchāla houses respectively. If the latter supposition is correct then in that case the name *Indrāgnimitra* may be taken to mean Agnimitra, the son of Indramitra.[2]

1. Allan, *BMC, AI*, pl. XIX, 11; XXV, 12-14; Smith, *Op. cit*, pl. XXIII, 5. Allan has assigned the previous Brahmamitra to the house of Kanauj. But in my opinion he belonged to the Kauśāmbī house.
2. I find it difficult to agree with Barua *Op. cit*, page, 75), and with H.C. Raichaudhury (*PHAI*, pp. 325 ff.) that after the fall of the dynasties of Pushyamitra Śuṅga and the Kāṇvas, a new Mitra dynasty ruled over Magadha with Kosala and Mathurā as its dependencies. As I have shown elsewhere, after the death of Pushyamitra Śuṅga, the pivot of political power seems to have shifted from Magadha to Kauśāmbī for sometime.

RĀMAGUPTA PROBLEM—A NEW SOLUTION*

AHMAD HASAN DANI

Since the discovery of a few fragments of the lost Sanskrit drama, *Devī-Chandragupta* by Viśākhadatta, the problem of the historicity of Rāmagupta has been mooted by scholars.[1] Literary evidences have been collated from several sources and reconstruction has been made so as to rescusitate this lost king and place him in between Samudragupta, the greatest ruler of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, and his son Chandragupta II Vikramāditya against the explicit epigraphic evidence which uses the conventional phrase implying that Chandragupta II succeeded Samudragupta. The epigraphic anomaly has been explained on the plea that collateral relations are usually not mentioned in the inscriptions. But some scholars have viewed this suggestion with great doubt mainly because circumstantially such an ignominous defeat of Rāmagupta, the supposed successor of the greatest Indian conqueror, Samudragupta, at the hand of the Śakas (whoever they might have been), who were definitely weaker in comparison to the rising power of the Imperial Guptas, is unbelievable and secondly because the existence of Rāmagupta is proved neither by any Gupta inscription nor by any gold coin. The latter deficiency was sought to be met by attributing to him the gold coins of Kāchagupta.[2] The result, however, remained inconclusive, and it was finally stated, "We must suspend our judgment upon the historical character of Rāmagupta, his fight with the Śakas, and the strange event which deprived him of his throne, life and the natural affection and fidelity of his wife."[3]

Fresh evidence was, however, brought forward by P.L. Gupta[4] when he published newly-discovered copper coins of Rāmagupta from the vicinity of Bhilsa in Malawa, and he forcefully argued to acclaim the king Rāmagupta, but again

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1. For a summary of the views, see R. C. Majumdar and A.S. Altekar, *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, reprinted 1954, pp. 148-52 with bibliography at the foot of p. 148.
2. See *JNSI*, IX, Pt. II, pp. 131-36. For opposite view, see ibid, XI, Pt. I, pp. 33-37.
3. *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, p. 151.
4. *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, pp. 103-11 which also includes contrary views. For more discoveries, see ibid, XIII, p. 128-30; XVIII, p. 108-9, and the summary given by A. S. Altekar in *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, Banaras 1957, pp. 162-64.

A. S. Altekar and A. K. Narain belittled the importance of the evidence on the ground that these copper coins were like Malawa copper coins and that the Rāmagupta of these coins may be a local ruler having nothing to do with the Imperial Gupta line. They also suggested that the first Gupta copper series was started by Chandragupta II after his conquest of the Western Kshatrapas and that this latter series bears no relation to the copper issues of Rāmagupta. The result again remained inconclusive, as Altekar summarised: "We shall, however, have to suspend our final judgment till the discovery of more decisive evidence".[1]

Since then no new material has been found,[2] but there is room for reviewing the whole position in the light of the history of Malawa with relation to the Imperial Gupta power. The conquests of Samudragupta and the fame of Chandragupta II have so much blurred the vision of the ancient historians that no one has given definite thought to the position of Malawa, whose western capital was Ujjain and the eastern capital was Airikīṇa. It is at the latter place that the Gupta inscriptions have been found right from the time of Samudragupta to that of Bhānugupta. While Samudragupta claims in his Allahabad Pillar Inscription to have exercised some control over the tribal republics in this area including that of the Mālavas, the exact relation is hardly defined. Could we take them as buffer States between the Imperial Gupta territory on the one hand and the territories of the Western Kshatrapas and later Kushāṇas on the other ? I think this assumption will be belittling the status of Samudragupta. We can put forward some evidence to clear the position. These rupublican states issued coinage in their names but these coins stop totally after Samudragupta's conquests. Does this not mean that at least currency right was taken over from them by Samudragupta ? Even then we cannot say they were absolutely subjects of Samudragupta. We have to give some special status to this entire western region of the Gupta empire. It seems that this status was not much changed even after Chandragupta II conquered the Western Kshatrapas and brought Gujarat under his direct administrative control, because, though large number of Gupta inscriptions have been found in Sanchi and its neighbourhood, two points stand out peculiar in this region.

1. Ibid, p. 164.
2. K. D. Bajpai has since published a new variety of the copper coins of the same Rāmagupta from about the same area (*JNSI*, xxiii, pp. 340-44) and the whole material has been reviewed by D. C. Sircar (*JIH*, XL, Pt. III, pp. 533 ff.), Nisar Ahmad (JNSI, xxv, Pt. I, pp. 106-7) and Jai Prakash (ibid, Pt. II, pp. 164 ff)—*Editor.*

I. In this very region we find the existence of a Varman dynasty beginning with Jayavarman onwards.[1] R. C. Majumdar argues that this dynasty remained independent until A. D. 423, because they do not mention the name of any Gupta ruler in their inscriptions. The first Gupta name mentioned by them is that of Kumāragupta I,[2] but this happens in A. D. 473 when Kumāragupta I was long dead. Another argument which Majumdar brings forward is the fact that the Varman kings date their inscriptions in Mālawa Vikrama era, but this is also the case of the present Mandasor inscription which bears the name of Kumāragupta I. From this reference can we conclude that Kumāragupta I introduced a change in the status of this region and brought it under his direct administration ?

II. The second point comes from two more inscriptional evidences—(i) Tumain fragmentary inscription[3] of Ghaṭotkachagupta dated Gupta year 116/A. D. 435-36, and (ii) Mandasor inscription[4] of Govindagupta, dated Vikrama year 524/A. D. 467. What was the position of these Gupta princes in relation to the Imperial Gupta rulers ? This has never been explained properly. The question is still more confounded by the discovery of a single gold coin[5] of Ghaṭotkachagupta of the Archer type. All historians have tried to explain away by referring these events to the troublous time either in the early years of the reign of Skandagupta or immediately after his death. But it is no use shirking the main question and taking recourse to a dark period and saying that Ghaṭotkachagupta and Govindagupta also revolted in this troublous period.

The last inscription shows that Govindagupta, who was the son of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, had a definite princely status in this region, most probably in his father's lifetime, and the same status must be given to Ghaṭotkachagupta in the time of Kumāragupta I. What control did these princes exercise over the Varman rulers, is not known. But the very fact that a Varman dynasty is tolerated (probably as feudatory) in this region and at least two Gupta princes hold some sort of an administrative status, imply special significance. Viewed in the background of immediately earlier and later history, these facts have a great political bearing. Towards the end of the 5th century A. D., the Hūṇas made a frontal

1. *The Vakataka-Gupta Age*, pp. 166-67.
2. Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Calcutta 1939, pp. 288-97.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 117.
4. Ibid, XXVII, pp. 15-16.
5. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 264-66.

attack towards this very region and again Yaśodharman of this very region later ousted the Hūṇas.

Taking these historical factors into consideration, we can now reconstruct the special status given to this region by Samudragupta, as is implied in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. If the two later points that we saw in the reigns of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I were an heritage of an earlier reign, we can as well say that some sort of an autonomy was given to this region by Samudragupta under which the Varmans held their position, and secondly one royal prince was appointed here probably with his headquarter at Airikīṇa in the hilly tract of Ḍabhala or modern Jubbalpur to look after the imperial interests. This practice continued as late as the time of Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harshavardhana, when we read in Bāṇa's *Harshacharitam* of two Gupta princes in Malawa. If this practice was started by Samudragupta, who was the prince appointed there, can we not give that status to Rāmagupta who is known to be an elder brother of Chandragupta II ? If we attribute to him the copper coins bearing his name, his position in Malawa becomes uncontested. We will, of course, have to assume that Samudragupta gave to his son the right of issuing coins by snatching that right from the tribal States. It also explains fully why and how Rāmagupta could have a rough time with the Sakas (in this case certainly Western Kshatrapas)—a historical event which has been later exaggerated in literary account. It may also be true that Rāmagupta died in the lifetime of his father. Or it may be that this Airikīṇa region was the last point of campaign undertaken by Samudragupta, not personally but through his son Rāmagupta, but probably it was finally achieved by Chandragupta II after the death of Rāmagupta. It is for this reason that no mention is made of the conquest of this region in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. In any case this drive must have enraged the Western Kshatrapas and the victim was the poor Rāmagupta about whom we have so far been groping. The final victory over the Kshatrapas was no doubt achieved by Chandragupta when Rāmagupta was no more there. The latter died a prince—a martyr in the cause of the Imperial Gupta power, who was destined to hold a status only in Malawa with the right to issue copper coins (so far known) but unfortunately to be derided in later literary accounts.

A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE SO-CALLED APRATIGHA COIN TYPE OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

RADHAKRISHNA CHOUDHARY

Much ink has flown since the issue was first raised by Allan in the first decade of our century, who, on the basis of a single evidence announced the discovery of a new type of Gupta coins belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta I.[1] Allan observed- "it seems better to give the non-committal name of Pratāpa, from the reverse legend...can hardly be identified as Kumāragupta as it is utterly unlike any representation of him, nor does it look a regal figure.....one of them very closely resembles Minerva." To him a specimen with legible inscription may throw some light on this type. Since then many attempts have been made to read the legend, either in support of Allan or Altekar or an altogether different contention. The discussion got a new lease of life after the discovery of the famous Bayana hoard of the Gupta gold coins.[2] Conjectures have been hazarded and conclusions drawn but none seems satisfied with the viewpoints of others. As a student of the Gupta history, I also feel tempted to dabble in this numismatic problem. It was with this end in view that I invited my colleagues in the Department, Shri T.H.D. Sinha and Shri O. P. Jayaswal to decipher and interpret the legends on these coins. I am thankful to them for their help.

After Allan and before the discovery of the famous Bayana hoard, very few persons touched this problem and those who did, more or less agreed with Allan. C. J. Brown observed..."the obverse of the still rare Pratāpa type, so called from the legend on the reverse, is evidently an adaptation from some foreign, probably, Roman model." (*The Coins of India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 44). R. K. Mukherji, writing in 1957 observed "The title may be taken to indicate the restoration of his Pratāpa or power by victories of his crown prince..... The obverse type is unique. It seems to be restruck on another, perhaps non-Indian coin. The central figure is Indian in style, while two others are quite foreign. They probably came from the conquered foreign peoples".[3] Except the last sentence the above para is a verbatim representation of Allan. S. V.

1. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties* (London, 1914), XCII. No.102.
2. Altekar, *Bayana Hoard* (My review of the same published in the *Spark*, 1957).
3. R. K. Mukherji, *The Gupta Empire* (Bombay, 1957), p. 89.

Sohoni, who has been studying this problem since 1943, has changed his opinion thrice with regard to it.[1] Sohoni, no doubt, deserves credit for having written a number of articles on the Gupta coins and interpreting them in the background of Sanskrit literature and other allied sources. In 1943, he hazarded a guess that this composition (of the so-called Apratigha coins) was suggested by a coin of Huviska showing three different figures, *viz.*, Skanda, Viśākha and Mahāsena standing on a platform, all three being recognised to be different names of Kumāra in a later period.[2] There are very few scholars who have differed from the views of Allan or Altekar. Noteworthy among them, who have differed from the accepted line of argument, are Sohoni, Mirashi, Majumdar and Ajit Ghose.

Before proceeding to discuss the various aspects connected with the so-called Apratigha coins, I would like to pose the following problems:

1. Kumāragupta I was dead when Skandagupta brought the news of victory.

2. If it was issuued to commemorate the victory over the Pushyamitras—why the king is not depicted in royal dress ?

3. If the queen, depicted on the coin, is the younger one, was he staying with her leaving the Rājamahishī ? Why was the younger queen preferred to the chief queen consort ?

4. *Apratigha*—if the reading be accepted as correct—was this expression meant for Kumāragupta or Skandagupta (the victor) when the younger queen exclaimed like that ?

5. The doubt arises out of the fact that Kumāragupta did not live to see the victory achieved by his son, Skandagupta. Kumāragupta was no doubt a powerful king and there was no diminution of empire but then why the younger queen exclaimed "Apratigha" for the king (if at all) when the victory was achieved by her son ?

6. King-and-Queen types of the Guptas have no similarity with this type.

7. The letters have similarity with the western type and naturally therefore the type seems to have been issued to commemorate some events of importance in western India.

8. In ordinary dress, his face also does not tally exactly with other issues of his coin-types.

1. *JNSI*, XVIII, 56-63 ; *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, II, 99 ff ; Golden Jubilee Volume of the *JNSI*, pp. 345ff.
2. *INC*, II, 102,

9. No royal titles or any other decorative forms of address are available from this type and as such it may be presumed that it marked some event at a time when he had not assumed royal titles. His civil dress is also indicative of the fact that he had not acquired the royal status and the absence of royal titles supports this contention.

10. It seems that the coin, under reference, was issued at a later date to mark his victory over his own brother Govindagupta in western India.

11. The theory of renunciation does not stand as Kumāragupta was all powerful and at the height of his glory when he died and hence it is futile to think of Kumāragupta's renunciation.

12. Had the coin any special significance except the one marking his victory over his own brother, he would have added all the regal titles etc., and must have appeared in royal dress.

13. After gaining victory over his brother, he is consulting his wife and the commander-in-chief as to how to move now and they, in ecstasy over the victory, explain his invincible power.

14. It further stands confirmed by the fact that here we have simplest expression "Kumāragupta" and nothing more.

15. Sohoni has also asserted that Kumāragupta I had to deal with a big and difficult military campaign when he took over the administration and that this type commemorated that phase in his career and was based on a fancy derived from the mythology of Kumāra.[1] At another place he says—"The mint master wanted to show military valour."[2]

Let us now recollect the views of earlier scholars on this question. To Allan, it was a unique coin which exhibited foreign influence.[3] Hoernle took it to be the representation of Buddha being worshipped by two women. Smith took the central figure as the king surrounded by his consorts.[4] Mirashi took the central figure as some saint surrounded by king and his queen.[5] To R. C. Majumdar, the central figure was that of Śiva and the two others were Nandi and Pārvatī. Majumdar's interpretation of the device on the obverse is that it is the Purāṇic scene of the allurement of Śiva by Pārvatī as depicted in the famous work of Kālidāsa, *Kumārasaṁbhavaṁ*, a source to which Sohoni also takes recourse. B. P. Sinha holds that the abdication question is being debated upon. Sohoni holds

1. *JNSI*, XVIII, 56ff; *INC*, I, 18, 38.
2. *INC*, II, 108.
3. Allan, *Op. cit*, p. 87; *PASB*, 1883, p. 206; *JRAS*, 1889. p. 109.
4. *INC*, II, 102-3.
5. *JNSI*, XI, 64.

that this composition was based on the dramatic incident narrated by Kālidāsa in *KS* (Canto-XIII. 21, 44, 45, 46).[1] According to M. C. Joshi, the problem of crown prince was being debated upon. Ajit Ghose suggests that the scene depicted Kumāragupta consulting his parents.[2] He is represented as shorter than the other two figures and also named simply as Kumāragupta without any title of sovereignty. He is being sent on a campaign of conquest by his father who presents him with the *Garuḍa* standard and the shield and the mother blesses him. It was issued to testify to his valour and thus to justify his kingship and hence it was a commemorative issue. According to Altekar, the scene represented Kumāragupta being unsuccessfully persuaded by his queen and general or crown prince not to give up his throne but the king was firm in his resolve and was therefore described on the reverse as invincible. Brajdeva Prasad Roy has suggested that the male figure with a shield is Skandagupta[3] placing his claims to the throne on the basis of the services he has rendered to the State. Shield symbolises the valour of Skandagupta.

Of all the gold coins, hitherto discovered, the Apratigha type is by far the most intriguing one. Since the first of its type, purchased by Rivett-Carnac at Mathura and presented to the British Museum in 1884, was discovered, it has presented a problem and yet awaits final solution. In all, ten coins of this variety have come to light. The legends on both sides are so disturbed and blurred that it is impossible to make out any sense though some scholars by their ingenuity have presented their readings of the same, more to suit their own interpretation of the coin than to the nature of the coin itself. I must admit at the outset that it has not been possible for me to read all the letters of the coin which are on the rim, partially cut and partially blurred. Altekar's *Catalogue* and Sohoni's enlargements hardly solve the problem because the letters of the circular legend are not clear and full. They are cut beyond recognition at many points. There are a number of coin-types in the whole range of the Gupta dynasty but the type, under discussion, continues to be unique and baffles all arguments.[4] Even Altekar admitted that the mystery about its nature and significance is not yet solved. He has rightly suggested that the lettters cant be combined into an intelligible legend, though Mirashi and Sohoni have ventured to do so. A better specimen may solve the riddle of the legend. Altekar

1. *INC*, II, 104.
2. *JNSI*, XXII, 180; XI, 64; XII, 68-71; XVIII, 56-63; 178-86.
3. *JNSI*, XXIV. 164ff.
4. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 207 ff; Also *Bayana Hoard*.

himself has raised a number of problems[1] and has admitted in a scholarly manner-"We can not unfortunately answer any of these questions with confidence."

My colleague, T.H. D. Sinha, after carefully studying the coins, has suggested that the "short name Kumāra has been written under the left arm so the central figure is that of Kumāragupta. Other two figures are of Senāpati and the younger queen (mother of Skandagupta). Dayal reads the reverse legend as *Supratīpa* and says, "it is an epithet of Kumāragupta.", *Supratīpaḥ* is one who bravely encounters his enemy. He thinks that the reverse legend is neither *Apratigha* nor *Śrīpratāpa* but *Supratīpaḥ* and therefore it should be called *Suparatīpa* type. Another colleague of mine, Jayaswal, agrees with the legend *Kumāragupta* and reads a part of the circular legend as *Prithajakularipudyaptaḥ* (between 3 and 6 O'clock). On the reverse he reads *Apratigha.* He is of opinion that the military personnel is communicating the victory over the Pushyamitras to the king (on the obverse). Jayaswal has rightly hinted that there is no similarity between the queens of the Apratigha type and other coin types of Kumāragupta. He says, "After obtaining the news Kumāragupta might have circulated the Apratigha type of coin representing before the subjects the actual scene of receiving the correct news of victory, where he was styled *Apratigha* or invincible. Side by side the representation of the younger queen was essential to make it clear to the subjects that valiant Skandagupta was her son who defeated the Pushyamitras."

Before a discussion on the Apratigha type, it would not be out of place to recount briefly the achievements of the reign of Kumāragupta I as it is in the background of this perspective that I propose to delineate on the problems raised above. Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya was a very powerful and successful ruler and he succeeded in maintaining the integrity of the empire. I have shown elsewhere[2] that Govindagupta ruled between *G. E.* 93 and 96 after Chandragupta II and was ultimately succeeded by Kumāragupta. Even Altekar could not ignore this point and he had to admit that "Govindagupta had usurped the throne during this interval. This theory is supported by very slender datum and there is no epigraphical evidence to support it...he has left us no coinage".[3] The

1. *Ibid*, p. 209.
2. My article on Govindagupta in the *PIHC*, XXIII. 50ff; *Journal of the Oriental Iustitute* (June-1963, Baroda).
3. *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 5; R. N. Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, pp. 29-30.

Mandasor Inscription of the Mālawa Saṁvat 521 (=465 A.D.) calls Govindagupta a king.[1] Govindagupta's connection with western provinces is accepted by many and it is admitted by all that Kumāragupta had a rival in prince Govindagupta.[2] There is a covert reference in the Mandasor inscription to the jealousy that Kumāragupta cherished towards his brother. What I aim to derive at here is this that the position during the latter part of the reign of Chandragupta II was not very satisfactory and conditions appear to be worsening in view of the family trouble. It is a curious enigma in the Gupta history that since the days of Chandragupta II (some believe that it was also the case with Samudragupta), the rightful owner of the throne was mysteriously deprived of the authority and the second brother usually ruled, *e.g.*, Rāmagupta was ousted, Govindagupta was thrown out and after Kumāragupta, the real successor, Puragupta, was ignored and Skandagupta succeeded. This seems to have been the general rule in the age of the Imperial Guptas and so if Kumāragupta succeeded in dethroning his brother, there is nothing to worry about it. These unfortunate princes could not be wiped out of memory. The *Devīchandraguptam* preserved the memory of Rāmagupta and the Vaiśāli Seal and the Mandasor Inscription of Govindagupta and Purugupta could be restored by the ingenuity of the scholars on the basis of the coins. Thus there seems to be nothing unusual in the course of the Guptan history if it is admitted that Kumāragupta, before accession, had some trouble with his brother.

It goes to the credit of Kumāragupta that he maintained the glory of the empire. P. C. Bagchi has suggested that the rise of the Kidāra Kushāṇas in the north-west had made Kumāragupta alert and compelled him to establish relationship with China[3]. His alliance with China was a counterstroke to the treaty of the Kushanas with the Sassanids and checkmated their progress[4]. The Indian emperor in the Chinese source is mentioned as the "beloved of the moon" (*Chandrapakāśa*). The *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtravṛitti* of Vāmana informs us that Chandragupta II had a son known as Chandraprakāśa[5]. Both Hoernle and H. P. Shastri believed that this was the pre-accession name of Kumāragupta. All these are indicative of the fact that he was a powerful ruler and wielded extensive power. His sway continued to be what it was during the reign

1. *EI*, XXVII, p. 15 ; *ARASI*, 1903-4, p. 107ff.
2. *PHAI* (6), 566, fn. 1 ; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 298, fn. 1.
3. P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 72-73.
4. S. Levi, *L'inde Civilisatrice*, 195-97.
5. Allan, *Op. cit.*

of his father and that is proved by the discovery of his coins from Kumarkhan in the Viramagama district of the state of Gujrat and another hoard at Sanund in the same district. Out of a hoard of nine Kumarkhan coins, one belongs to the reign of Kumāragupta with the legend *Kumāra*[1]. He is said to have married the daughter of the Kadamba king, Kākusthavarmaa. While all these speak of his glory, the troubles also started during the latter part of his reign on account of the pressure of the Kidār Kushāṇas, the Hūṇas and the Pushyamitras[2]. The pressure, however, did not touch the integrity of the empire and the glory remained unimpaired. Hence in the face of such strong empire and with such glorious records of his reign and also in view of his unquestioned sovereignty, it rather sounds unhistorical to suggest that he was thinking to renounce the world. By no stretch of imagination can we prove the theory of renunciation here on the evidence of his Apratigha coin and that also at a time when he was at the height of his glory. What was there to necessitate his renunciation at all ? The legends on the Apratigha coins, at least, do not give any such impression. Just before his accession there were troubles and as soon as he got over them, he settled down and completely entrenched himself. He managed his affairs so well that the glory of the Gupta empire remained untarnished. Why should a king, whose friendship was courted by many contemporary rulers, think of renunciation ?

With this background of the contemporary political history, we may now discuss the significance of the so-called Apratigha coins of Kumāragupta I. The problems, posed above, are ticklish and do not admit of any positive verification at any end in the present state of our knowledge, and insufficient datum. The legends are as problematical as the Harrappan seals, read by persons and interpreted in the manner that suits them best. The three persons represented on the obverse do not admit of any actual verification. The figure on the right is a female and on the left is male holding a shield close to his torso. The central figure in *Dhoti*, hands folded at the waist with some type of headdress. The female figure to the right is in a *Sāri*, with left hand on the waist, has her right hand bent up and raised in the attitude of argumentation, her fingers almost touching the central figure. The male figure standing to the left of the central figure, wearing a close-fitting cap, left hand holding a shield in front of the torso and the right hand bent

1. *JNSI*, XXII, 265 ; XV, 195-96.
2. *JBBRAS* (1930), p. 282-283 ; *PIHC*, XXI, 160-61

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up either holding *Garuḍadhwaja* just behind the central figure or in *vitarkamudrā*. The reverse has goddess Lakshmi seated on a full blown lotus with left hand on waist and right hand holding a lotus.

Legend on the *obverse*—written horizontally but in lines placed vertically between the central figure and figures on its either side ; On right side to be read from top to bottom, *Kumāra,* on the left side to be read from bottom to top *Guptaḥ*.

Legend on the *reverse*—*Aprrtigha* read by Altekar and many others who have since changed views ; *Śrīpratāpa* by Allan and many others who have since changed views and now by Sohoni also ; *Supratīpa* by my colleague, T. H. D. Sinha.

The obverse legend as read by Altekar is *Pratapara* and letters between III and VII can be read as *Pra, pu, ra, pa, pu.* Mirashi reconstructs the obverse legend in the following manner—*Pratāparamādharāḥ Śrī Prathama Parākrama Vapuḥ...* Sohoni suggests that the circular legends on the obverse consists of the following four parts :—

(a) .....*Pratāpa Parameśwaraḥ* (ending at 3 o'clock).

(b) *Śrīprathitakularūpadṛptaḥ* (ending at 6 o'clock).

(c) *Nirupamaguṇa mahārṇṇavaḥ* (ending at 9 o'clock).

(d) *Apratīvāryavīryaḥ* (ending at 10 o'clock).

The text as translated by Sohoni is as follows—"(1) Valour, the king and the goddess of Fortune ; (2) (Kumāragupta) being proud of belonging to a famous dynasty and of his beauty ; (Kumāragupta) a foaming ocean of incomparable virtues ; and (d) of irresistible prowess." Regarding the reverse, in his latest he has supported Allan. Vāmana's description of Chandraprakāśa favourably compares with the legend as reconstructed above by Sohoni. The reading suggested by my friend, Jayaswal, as given earlier means "dreadful enemy of the king".

It must be admitted here that none of the coins, even the plates referred to by Sohoni (*INC*-II. 110 ; Plate 1, No. 5) admit of any verification so far as the reading of the obverse legend is concerned. Except a few letters like *pra, ku, pu, pa, dra, va* etc. I have not been able to make out any sense of the obverse though the reverse is a bit legible and may be clearly

read as *Apratigha*. Even if we read it as *Śrīpratāpa* or *Supratīpa* it does not bring any difference in the sense or in meaning, but to make any sense out of the obverse legend is certainly very difficult. It should be borne in mind here that every coin type of the Imperial Guptas is associated with some important event and this Apratigha type, under reference, was also issued to commemorate some event. I am of opinion that Kumāragupta issued this coin somewhere in western India to commemorate his victory over his brother Govindagupta as a result of which the former became the emperor. The legend on the obverse has been read as *Parameśwara* by Sohoni who takes it as the "first occurence in a legend of a coin type of the Gupta dynasty" (*INC*-II. 100). The reading *Prthitalakularūpadrptaḥ* further refers to a dreadful enemy of the king. We have seen above that Kumāragupta, after his accession, continued to be powerful and his other coin types represent him in full royal dress but the *Apratigha* is the only type where he is represented in a purely civil dress. He is seen here discussing with his commander and the queen about the victory over his brother and his consequent assumption of political power. The commander and the queen are expostulating of his victory for the future of the Gupta empire and Kumāragupta is seen brooding over their suggestions. While the commander is with all his usual standard, the queen is seen convincing him of the feasibility of taking strong measures to save the western provinces from further ruin. The western provinces were always a headache to the Guptas. The civil composition of the coin is further attested by the fact that the queen herself is on the right and not on the left as she should have been according to the traditional Indian style of *Ardhāngini* or *Vāmāṅgī*. Since the whole atmosphere was informal and they were busy discussing things in a purelly informal manner, no attention was paid towards this aspect. The coin was issued more with a view to commemorate than for usual circulation and hence the mint master did not mind this unusual feature of placing queen on the right of the king. The whole thing was taken as a sort of family affair. The figures represented here are in a jovial mood to placate Kumāragupta who appears to be a bit morose over his own action against his uterine brother. His dress and posture are sufficient to show that he had not yet assumed the royal insignia of the Imperial Guptas. He seems to have intentionally issued this type to commemorate this important event of his life which has otherwise been forgotten.

The Garuḍa standard is characteristic of the heraldic emblem of the Guptas and that is why the Garuḍa standard has been retained here. The letters of this type are of western

variety and Upasaka has pointed out that a shape of the letter on the Apratigha coin exhibits a clear influence of the Kshatrapa characters. Other forms show a close similarity with the western variety[1-2]. Needless to say that all the Apratigha coins have been discovered from western provinces. Even Chandragupta II copied the Kshatrapa coinage[3]. More than thousand coins of Garuḍa type of Kumāragupta have been discovered from the western provinces and it appears that throughout his long reign he succeeded in maintaining his hold on that part of the empire. While Vāmana's evidence is there, Sohoni suggests that "*Bālachandrikā*" has been shown near *Śrī*. Chandra only showed the undiminished glory of the Guptas[4]. It is rather too farfetched to identify the male figure with a shield with Skandagupta[5]. Kumāragupta issued this coin not to show or prove his valour against the Pushyamitras and the Hūṇas (for which Skandagupta takes all credit in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription) but to establish his victorious claim over his brother Govindagupta. Had he issued these coins with the intention of commemorating his victories over the Pushyamitras or the Hūṇas, he must have appeared in full royal dress and with known legend and could not have satisfied himself with the so-called epithet "*Parameśwara*" or merely with Kumāragupta. He personally did not show his valour against the Pushyamitras which he actually did against his brother. *Aprativāryavīryaḥ* (if we accept the reading) exhibits his pride of being a man of irressistible prowess and the epithet naturally suits him when we take into consideration his jealousy towards his own brother. Sohoni, at one place, conceded this much that Kumāragupta had to undertake a difficult military campaign and this type commemorated that phase of his career (*JNSI*-XVIII-56-63). The western part of the empire was always a source of trouble and Govindagupta was deputed to keep that area in check ; Govindagupta's sway over that part seems to have been very strong. The Udayagiri inscription does not mention Kumāragupta but simply refers to the family of the Guptas (Fleet No. 61), though in the Tumain Inscription, he is said to have siezed the earth by his powerful arms. Thus whatever trouble he had, he had it from the west as the provenance of the Apratigha is also attributed to the west. This type must have been issued therefore to commemorate that event of his life when he had scored victories in the west but had not attained royal status. Buston's account of the

1. *INC*, II ; *JNSI*, XXIII, pp. 345-56.
2. *INC*, II, 56ff.
3. Allan, XXXVIII
4. *JNSI*, XXV, 165.
5. Ibid, 167 ; *JBRS*, XLII, p. 403.

Tibetan source (P. 171- relating to *Chandragarbha Paripriehchhā*) does not help us much in arriving at any solid conclusion. Ajit Ghose is much nearer the truth when he says that the the obverse represents young Kumāragupta before accession when he is sent on a campaign of conquest by his father. The trouble seems to have started then. Both Sohoni and Majumdar have taken recourse to the *KS* (Canto-XIII. 21, 445, 45, 46 ; and XV. 28), for the interpretation of this type. According to Sohoni, it was best accounted for "as an issue intended to depict his setting out to fight a real menace.....and the composition on the obverse is best understood in terms of a dramatic incident by Kālidāsa in his *KS* (29). Whether Kumāragupta actually took his motif from the *KS* or not will remain a matter of guess until further evidence is forthcoming but the fact remains that if the story of Kumāra was, at all, borrowed for representation on the coin, that was done purely to represent the victory of Kumāra over Tāraka. The whole history of the Guptas is full of beautiful and resplendent Sanskrit verses and if the obverse legend, as reconstructed by Sohoni, be taken as the accepted reading, one thing is evident that the composer was a poetic genius.

Knowing the limits of Kumāra before his accession and keeping in view the brewing internecine strife, the composer very shrewdly used the epithet that did not mar the glory of the man for whom it was meant. The literary standard was undoubtedly at its peak. The supposed menace for Kumāragupta before his accession was his own brother. He might have secured the help of his courtiers who in anticipation of his victory might have wished him godspeed. What we see here is the absence of regal dress but it should be borne in mind that the head-dress is nothing more than the *Sikhaṇḍābharaṇa*, an accepted ornament which could be used for both the purposes. In the *KS*, Kumāra is depicted as setting out to fight a menace. Kumāragupta fought to finish and thereby earned the gratitude of all his supporters who stood for his kingship. Whether Kālidāsa had in mind Kumāragupta or not is a disputed point at the moment. After his victory over his brother, he stablished his position and commemorated this event by the issue of a coin type which is unique among all the Gupta coin types. In the present state of our knowledge of the Gupta coinage, no other explanation seems to be more plausible. Had it referred to any other important item, it should not have gained precedence over the Aśvamedha type. He does not seem to have issued the Apratigha type just after his accession but placed it somewhat later and made it popular in western provinces whether he and his father had to make their position

felt in view of the disturbed condition. Very few coins of this type have come to light and that also from the western part.

It seems reasonable to suggest that he intended to have this type circulated in those parts with the representations showing the discussions about his victory. The Garuda standard is also a fact to be reckoned with. It was associated with the military operations against the recalcitrant enemies. The evidences of the Bhitari pillar inscription–*Vichalita kulalakshmī—Viplutāṁ Vaṁśalakshmīṁ* are brought to bear upon the events of the reign of Kumāragupta which to my mind, are irrelevant. Skandagupta takes full credit for all victory and says that he did it by his own valour (*Svabhujajanitavīryarāja rājādhirājaḥ, Vyapetya sarvvān Manujendraputrān Lakshmī swayaṁ yaṁ varayāṁchakāra.* Hence we cannot force credit upon Kumāragupta for which his son takes credit. I have shown elsewhere that there is no evidence to suggest that the Hūṇas advanced against India in the reign of Kumāragupta[1]. At any rate he was dead before that incident. Hence we are compelled to reject the accepted theories about the Apratigha coin and to suggest that it marked the close of a family quarrel for the throne and ultimate victory of Kumāragupta over his brother Govindagupta. Here the mood is not of renunciation but of brooding over the shape of things to-come and he is persuaded by the queen and the commander to go ahead with his usual kingly responsibilittes. Kumāragupta is described as valorous and the expression is for him. The head-dress can not be a substitute of full regal dress. He issued this coin type without adding any colour of royalty to it. Needless to say that he was a man of irresistible prowess and incomparable virtues. The literary and poetic excellence of the restored legend (sic ?) speaks of the literary genius of the Gupta period. He commemorated the victory certainly without any ostentation as it concerned the family feud and that he did with the issue of this type.

Abbreviations

ARASI—Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
JBRS—Journal of the Bihar Research Society.
JNSI—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
JBBRAS—Journal of the Bombay branch of the RAS.
INC—Indian Numismatic Chronicle.
PASB—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
PIHC—Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
KS—*Kumārasaṁbhava.*

30. R. K. Choudhary, *The Hūṇa Invasion of India* in the Altekar Volume of the JBRS.

THREE SILVER PLATED GUPTA COINS FROM SHERDI, JUNAGADH DISTRICT (GUJARAT STATE)

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

[Plate I]

Recently during my explorations in the lower Bhadar valley in western Saurashtra, a number of sites of Kshatrapa affiliation was located by me. Some of them undoubtedly go back to the late Kshatrapa period but were mainly village sites of the Gupta period. This is attributable, broadly speaking, from the nature of the pottery which was, by and large, of considerably evolved and degenerate character of post-Kshatrapa levels of Saurashtra-Gujarat, and the typical Red Polished Ware as the diagnostic element of the Kshatrapa period was very meagre and of limited occurrence. Among these sites, one situated near the modern village of Sherdi, not far from the Bhadar banks and known as the Kanthario timbo, was, by way of physical area, much bigger than the rest. From here, an enthusiastic local student (Sri Nakum of Bantwa) had collected some pottery and a few coins and was good enough to show them to me when I visited the site. The pottery, as mentioned above, were mostly of the late and post-Kshatrapa, and even later mediæval forms. The three coins found from the site, however, were of some significance. They are now noted hereunder.

The coins are all of the same shape, although, being in different stages of wear and tear, their weights and outer rims have become irregularly angular. They would seem to pertain to the silver-plated coins of Kumāragupta I,[1] with a copper core, which have been so far noted mainly around the site of the ancient Valabhi. Since the present coins have been found considerably west of Valabhi, they have a special import and might tend to indicate the wide provenance of such silver-coated issues and the debased sub-standard coinage imitating Kumāragupta's that might have been a sequel to the cracking imperial power and colonial economy. In the coins under study, it is found that they are considerably less in weight than the standard silver coins of Kumāragupta, the range of difference being as much as 12-20 grains. It has been suggested[2] that, as with the Roman custom, such coins might have been issued, by mint authorities for payment of expenses. But this does not appear to be invariably the case and particularly such coating of copper with silver in coinage has been of rare occurrence. In the present instance, there is the additional feature that although basically all the three coins found at

1. Allan, *BMC,GD*, London (1914), pp. xcvi-xcvii.
2. Smith, V. A, *JRAS* (1893), pp. 137 ff.

Sherdi site appear to be of the same 'Valabhi' fabric of Kumāragupta and carry head of king on obverse, there is considerable difference in their reverse features. While two of the coins **(Pl. I. 10 & 11)** are of *Garuḍa* type apparently, although rendered in a crude fashion, one **(Pl. I. 9)** has what appears to be a standing bull, facing proper right, on the upper middle of the reverse, with one of the fore-legs partly raised, with the lower part carrying apparently some legend which is not intelligible but would seem to be palæographically contemporary or slightly later to Kumāragupta's times as seen on his coins. Of the other two again, one **(Pl. I. 10)** has curiously enough a part of the legend (*Kumāragupta Mahen)drasya* seen on the obverse on one of the margins near the face, at the same place where usually the garbled Roman letters are found in Kumāragupta coins. There is thus every possibility, alike from the fact that the weights of these three coins are considerably less than the standard weight of even such silver-coated coins and is ranging from 5 grains to 15 grains, and since they have the symbols, legends and head of king rendered in a crude and rather stylised manner, and by the unconventional nature of the legend location and use of the standing bull symbol, that these three coins may form part of an issue imitating Kumāragupta coins of the silver coated type representing a very degraded socio-economic situation in the western part of Saurashtra. These coins were said to have been actually found inside a small broken pot and thus indicate the savings of the concerned citizen and that they were saved so also vouches for the fact that they were still in circulation at the time of hoarding and, if so, indicates the spread of this 'Valabhi' fabric of Kumāragupta coins in a very widespread area in Saurashtra.

There is an interesting correspondence between the legend as said to have been read on the fifteen small copper coins dug up on the Valabhi site and believed to be from the same hoard as the twenty Gupta copper coins presented by the Chief of Vala, some of which were coated with thin film of silver.[1] The legend read as *Parama Bhagavata Rajadhiraja Kumaragupta Mahadrasya.* The correct reading was probably *Mahendrāditya,* but the possessive ending *Mahendrasya* is also found in one of the silver-coated coins now under reference, although it is on the obverse and is only partly preserved (*-drasya*). There is thus every reason to believe that these coins from Sherdi under study might form part of the local issues of such silver-coated coins either issued during the period of Kumāragupta and which might have continued to be legal

1. Smith, V. A, op. cit., p. 137.

tender even in western part of Soraṭh (present Junāgadh) District quite far away from Valabhi, or adapted and minted in more debased and thinner forms (as are our present coins) than the standard ones, by some local authorities in the Western Saurashtra, to fill the currency vacuum until the Maitraka 'Valabhi' coins (*Śrī Sarvabhattāraka* type) replaced them.

While Smith held that there was a genuine copper currency exactly indentical in weight, size, devices and legend with the silver one, Allan[1] and Altekar[2] disagree with this view and hold that all the coins now appearing as copper and also those which are even now found retaining their silver plating in a greater or lesser degree fully or partially, were part of a debassed silver currency since no king would issue silver and copper currency of identical fabric, as that would constitute an economic and financial fraud on the people. On the other hand, the fact that the political and financial stringency of the circumstances compelled Kumāragupta to sanction the issue of silver-plated copper pieces as Silver issues was considerably more acceptable. Such a recourse had been taken by earlier kings also as Nahapāṇa as well as Chashṭana, his near successor, and in the Roman coinage also.

The acute disparity in the weight between the standard type of such silver coated currency and the coins now under study calls for some remarks. It is found that while the lowest weight of the three coins is nearly a fourth of the standard weight, the highest is only half of it. Thus it is open to doubt whether these coins could not have been forgeries of the standard silver-plated copper variety. The fact that the least heavy of the three coins is also partially damaged in its size and shape may indicate that, had it been full, it might have been nearer to half the standard weight. Further, there is considerable wear and tear particularly on the obverse and this might have accounted for some reduction in weight but, one would be tempted to feel, not to the extent found actually. Despite the general similarity in obverse and reverse devices to the western Indian silver and silver-coated copper issues of Kumāragupta, it is not to be ignored that, as already mentioned, there are some discrepancies in the details, like the standing bull symbol with some legend below in one of the coins, the occurrence of legend of part of king's name (*-drasya*) on the obverse near king's face in another. It is thus within the realms of possibility, either that these three coins formed part of a currency which was sub-standard and debased and initiated by a local quasi-independent authority, or that they

1. Allan, *BMC,GD*, p. xc, vii.
2. Altekar, A.S, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 234, Banaras. (1957).

were deliberate forgeries. The fact that they had been found in a small pottery vessel in the site would go to show that they were taken as valid currency. Hence the three coins, found away from Valabhi in the Western part of Junagadh District carry the story of the degree of lack of central authority towards the close of Kumāragupta's reign or immediately after his reign, which could not enforce even minimum stipulations for coin currency, and how local authority for minting coins of dubious value might have mushroomed up.

Description of Coins

No. 1 : Wt. 5 grains ; size—rough irregularly square trimmed of about 15 mm. **(Pl. I. 9)**

Obv. Highly blurred head of king facing proper left rather to one side. Patches of the copper visible.

Rev. Standing bull facing proper right with raised foreleg, on upper middle. Legend (illegible) below.

Such a bull figure is not known from any of the silver issues of Kumāragupta, although the recumbent bull type in silver issue of his central provinces is available It is thus not clear if this coin forms part of an issue during the time of Kumāragupta himself or after him by some local ruler utilising the bull figure as symbol. Maitraka kings had bull crest but Valabhi-Maitraka silver coins are entirely different and do not employ bull emblem.

No. 2 : Wt. 11 grains ; size—oblong with convex edges ; 1½ mm length ; with max. width 13 mm, and minimum width 8 mm. **(Pl. I. 10)**

Obv. Head of king facing proper right along the lengthwise direction with part of legend near the face reading–*drasya*. Small patches of copper core visible.

Rev. *Garuḍa*, very crudely represented (or is it a horse ?) ; Border blurred.

No. 3 : Wt. 9 grains ; size—roughly elliptical with some sharp length 15 mm. max. corners ; width 13 mm ; minimum width—8 mm. **(Pl. I. 11)**

Obv. Head of king facing proper left, stylised and partly blurred. Greek letter like *H. O.* before face.

Rev. *Garuḍa* crudely represented. Border of dots only partly existing on the lower right. Legend badly eroded and partly visible possibly *Mahara*..... *Kumaragu*.....This matrix would pertain to type Class I of Altekar's classifications.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF MAHENDRĀDITYA AND KRAMĀDITYA OF REPOUSSE GOLD COINS

NISAR AHMAD

Certain repousse gold coins are known with the legend *Śrī Mahendrāditya* from South Kosala area. The first coin of an unknown provenance, bearing this legend, was published by Prayag Dayal, who attributed it to Kumāragupta I of Gupta dynasty.[1] Ajit Ghose, in a note on the same coin, suggested the name of Kumāragupta of the Bhitari seal as its issuer.[2] Then in 1948, V. P. Rode published a hoard of similar coins from Khairtal and classified them into two groups—(i) issued by Kumāragupta I and (ii) issued by king Tivaradeva and his successors.[3] In his editorial note on Rode's paper, A.S. Altekar maintained that they were not the issues of Kumāragupta I but of some local ruler of South Kosala, who had assumed the *biruda* of *Mahendrāditya*.[4] In the absence of more definite proof, Altekar was also not convinced by Mirashi's suggestion that these coins might be the issues of a ruler of Śūra dynasty in the name of his suzerain Kumāragupta I.[5]

In 1954, Balchandra Jain published a hoard of 12 coins of similar fabric, which were found at village Bhandara in Chanda district. It contained only one coin with the legend *Śrī Mahendrāditya*; others having the legend *Śrī Prasannamātra*.[6] Jain held that the Mahendrāditya of these coins might be the successor of Narendra, the ruler of Śarbhapur.[7] But in 1960, when he found, from the village Pitaiband in the Raipur district, forty coins of this type with the coins of Kramāditya, totally similar in style, fabric and weight, he changed his previous view and thought that the coins with the legend *Mahendrāditya* were issued by Kumāragupta and those with the legend *Kramāditya* by his successor Skandagupta.[8]

Lately, P. L. Mishra has suggested that these coins should be attributed to king Mahendra of Allahabad Praśasti.[9] He further said that Mahendrāditya was the ruler of Nala dynasty.[10]

1. *NS*, XLIV, p. 11.
2. Ibid, XLVI, pp. 21-22.
3. *JNSI*, X, pp. 137-39.
4. Ibid, p. 339.
5. Ibid, XI, pp. 108-10. See Altekar's editorial note on p. 110.
6. Ibid, XVI, p. 215-18.
7. Ibid, p. 218.
8. Ibid, XXII, pp. 184-7.
9. *IHQ*, XXXVII, p. 2
10. Ibid, XXXVI, pp. 247-259,

Thus there are clearly two sets of opinions about the identity of the coins bearing the legend *Mahendrāditya*. According to one, they were issued by Kumāragupta I of Gupta dynasty and according to the other, they were the issues of some local ruler or rulers of South Kosala. It is proposed here to examine both these riews.

If these coins are attributed to Gupta king Kumāragupta I, we should take notice of the following facts:

(i) The gold coinage of the Guptas has certain characteristics of its own. No Gupta gold coins weigh less than 100 grains. Nor they were issued in repousse or had a blank reverse. The coins under reference weigh only in the proximity of 20 grains and differ very much from the fabric of Gupta gold coins.

(ii) The script of Gupta coins is always the Brāhmī of Northern type, while the legends on these coins are of the box-headed variety, which is the peculiarity of the South, where Kumāragupta I had hardly any hold.

(iii) The area, from where these repousse coins are found was in 5th-6th century A. D. under the control of Nala dynasty, The Nalas were not the feudatories of the Guptas but independent rulers.

(iv) The use of the Gupta era in a record of Bhīmasena II discovered from Arang in Raipur district need not prove that South Kosala was included in the Gupta empire. The Kings known from this record were actually ruling in the eastern part of Mekhala and a very small western part of South Kosala and not on the regions from where the coins of Mahendrāditya are found.

(v) There is hardly any evidence to show that South Kosala was ever administered by Kumāragupta I. Indeed Samudragupta subdued the king of South Kosala but liberated[1] him, and therefore we can not say that Kosala from the time of Samudragupta had any connection with the Gupta empire.

(vi) A large number of coin-types of Kumāragupta I have been found in the Bayana and other hoards, but not a single coin of the present type is found in any one of them.

(vii) The present coins are known exclusively from South Kosala region, while the Gupta gold coins were never local. All their types are found throughout their empire.

(viii) No coin of the present type is known of any of the successors of Kumāragupta I.

1. *CII*, III, p. 7.

(ix) Jain writes that "the cluster of dots and the *Kalaśa* symbols on the coins of Mahendrāditya are very much similar to those occurring on the coins of Prasannamātra" and therefore it appears that "this type was borrowed from the coins of Prasannamātra who most likely was contemporary of Kumāragupta I."[1] As the reign of Kumāragupta I ended in 456 A. D.[2] and Prasannamātra, the king of Śarbhapurian dynasty, ruled in the early part of sixth century A.D.,[3] this hypothesis in untenable.

In view of the above, it is extremely unlikely that these coins were issued by Kumāragupta I. Simply the name Mahendrāditya on the coins is not enough to attribute them to Kumāragupta I inspite of the fact that this was his *biruda*.

In all likelihood, therefore, these coins are the issues of some local ruler of South Kosala.

Mirashi thinks that the local ruler or rulers, who issued these coins, were the feudatories of the Guptas. He identifies them with the kings of Śūra dynasty. His hypothesis is like this : Mahendra of Kosala (*i. e.* South Kosala), who was first defeated and then reinstated by Samudragupta according to Allahabad pillar inscription, must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. Sure indication of this acknowledgement is available in the adoption of the Gupta era by the Kosala kings. The copper-plate grant of Bhimsena II, found at Arang in the Raipur district of Chhattisgarh, which is dated in the Gupta year 182, shows that down to A. D. 501 Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in Mahākosala or Chhattisgarh. Bhīmasena II, the issuer of the grant, was the sixth in the dynasty ; so calculating on the basis of 20 years for a generation, the date of Śūra, the first king mentioned in the grant, would be the first quarter of the fifth century A. D.

Thus Mirashi makes Śūra contemporary of Kumāragupta I and suggests that he might have introduced this coinage of his suzerain in his country. He explains the issue by saying that there was perhaps a dynastic change in Dakshiṇa Kosala at that time and Śūra obtained the throne with the help of Kumāragupta I and in gratitude he issued these coins in the name of his suzeraign. In support of his assumption, he points to the letter *śa* stamped below the legend on the coins as the initial of the king's name, Śūra ; and the letter *da* as that of Dayitavarman I or II.

1. *JNSI*, XXII, p. 186.
2. *The Classical Age*, p. 23.
3. Ibid, p. 219.

Besides his suggestion that Śūra got the throne with the help of Kumāragupta I, Mirashi, at another place, has said that Śura was the successor of Mahendra.[1] Who this Mahendra was, we do not know. If he was the same Mahendra, the king of Kosala, mentioned in the Allahabad *praśasti*, we are left to bewilder as to why Kumāragupta I helped Śūra against one who was already under the Gupta suzerainty from the time of his grandfather Samudragupta. But Mahendra of South Kosala, who was defeated by his grandfather could not be his contemporary.

Leaving aside the hypothetical issue of the succession of Śūra, if we look to the real facts, the inscriptions of Ganj and Nachne-ki-Talai inform us that Vyāghra-rāja, who was defeated by Samudragupta along with Mahendra and other kings of Dakshiṇāpatha, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛithvīsheṇa I.[2] It means that the Vākāṭakas had established their supremacy over South Kosala and its vicinity. It is very likely that Mahendra would also have accepted the Vākāṭaka suzerainty along with his neighbour Vyāghrarāja.

Since Chandragupta II had established a matrimonial alliance with Pṛithvīsheṇa by giving his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to his son Rudrasena, it is unlikely that Kumāragupta I would have subdued the feudatories of his brother-in-law Rudrasena II or his sister's son Pravarasena II and annexed the Kosala territory. This finds support from the fact that not a single record of Kumāragupta has been found in this region.

Even if we ignore these facts, it is difficult to accept that these coins were issued by Śūra dynasty in the name of Kumāragupta I. According to Mirashi's own surmises, the coin having *pa* below the legend would be the issue of some king of Śūra dynasty whose name began with that letter. But we know no name beginning with the letter *pa* in the geneology given in the Arang plate. As such, the *pa*-initialed ruler of the Śūra dynasty could only exist either before Śūra or after Bhīmasena II. But the palæography of the coins with the letter *pa* rules out their place before the coins having the letter *Śa*, meant for Śūra. On the same ground the coins cannot be placed after Bhīmasena II also. We know from Ajanta record of Harisheṇa, who ruled upto *c.* 510 A. D., that he had conquered South Kosala.[3] It means that just after Bhīmasena II, it came

1. *Studies in Indology*, I, pp., 217, 319.
2. Ganj inscription, *CII*, III, No. 54; Nachne-ki-Talai inscription, *EI*, XVII, 12; Majumdar, R. C. and Altekar, A. S., *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p, 101
3. *Hyd. Arch. Series*, No. XIV, p. 11.

under the sphere of Vākāṭakas of Basim branch, if the date of Arang plate, Gupta year 182 (as read by Mirashi) is correct; and there was no occasion for any Śūra ruler to issue coins in the name of Kumāragupta I.

Again, it is suggested by Mirashi that the coins bearing the letter *da* were issued by Dayitavarman I or II. The palæography of the coins bearing the letter *śa* and *da* exhibit a long gap between them. The coins with the letter *da* cannot be assigned to Dayitavarman I. If we take that they were issued by Dayitavarman II, who ruled, according to Mirashi, 80 years after the foundation of the dynasty, then one would like to know as to why Dayitavarman II issued the coins in the name of Kumāragupta (Mahendrāditya), who had died long back in 455 A. D. If Śura had issued the coins in the name of his suzerain Kumāragupta I and in gratitude, then his successor or Dayitavarman should have issued coins in the name of his contemporary suzerain and not in the name of one who had died long back.

Whatever might be the significance of the additional letters below the legend, it is almost certain that they do not indicate names of the feudatories of the Guptas. We find such additional letters on the coins of the Aśvamedha and Lyrist types of Samudragupta and the coins of later imperial Guptas. But one would hardly admit that the Aśvamedha and Lyrist type coins were issued by the feudatories of Samudragupta and not by latter himself. Similarly the presence of the letters on the coins of later Imperial Guptas cannot be the initials of their feudatories. They were by themselves weak and their feudatories were gradually becoming independent.

Thus it is clear that these coins were not issued by feudatories of the Guptas. It is also unlikely that they were issued by any Śūra ruler in his own right. As D. C. Sircar has pointed out, "the dynasty was probably ruling about the northern fringe of South Kosala country", and "possessed a small territory."[1] The coins bearing the legend *Śrī Mahendrāditya* are known from such part of South Kosala and the adjoining Orissa, that were beyond the reach of Śūra kings.

The suggestion of P. L. Mishra that these coins belonged to king Mahendra of Allahabad *praśasti* and who was the king of Nala dynasty may be brushed aside without going into any detail. The Allahabad *praśasti* was engraved in the mid of the fourth century A. D., while the palaeography of the coins shows that they were issued not earlier than the fifth century A. D.

1. *IHQ*, XXII, p. 62.

The coins of Mahendrāditya can not be attributed to any ruler of Śarbhapurian or Naḷa dynasty as none of them adopts the title of *āditya.*

These coins may be attributed to Mahendrāditya mentioned in *Kathāsaritsāgara.* It says that there was a world-conquering king named Mahendrāditya in the famous city Ujjayinī. When *Mlechchhas* (*Asuras*) were creatiag havoc on the earth, all the gods with Indra as their leader, prayed to Śiva to send some hero on the earth to destroy the *Mlechchhas.* Śiva, assuring them protection, directed his gaṇa Mālyavat to be born as the brave son of king Mahendrāditya and subdue the Rākshasas, Yakshas and Vetālas. And thus Vikramāditya was born. He defeated many kings. "King Mahendrāditya, seeing that his son was in the bloom of early manhood, of great valour, and beloved by his subjects, duly anointed him heir to his realm, and, being himself old, retired with his wife and ministers to Vārāṇasī, and made the god Śiva his refuge."[1] B. P. Sinha identifies Mahendrāditya of *Kathāsaritsāgara* with Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty,[2] but there is no indication in any Gupta record that Kumāragupta I retired to religious life, and, therefore, this supposition can be put aside.

In Gondwana, the tribals still worship the Rākshasa king Rāvaṇa. Most Likely, the Rākshasas and others mentioned in *Kathāsaritsāgara* were tribals living in Gondawana and its neighbouring areas and coins with the legend Mahendrāditya may be assigned to Mahendrāditya of the text. Most probably Mahendrāditya was the ruler of South Kosala. As in the time of the author of *Kathāsaritsagara* Ujjayinī city was very famous, he attached Mahendrāditya with it. Many such blunders are seen in this text, for instance, it says that Udayana, the ancient king, fought with Mohammedans.[3]

When Mahendrāditya ruled, it can not be said exactly, but at the present state of our knowledge, we may place him after the fall of Naḷa dynasty, in last quarter of 5th century or a little later.

II

We have referred above to Balchandra Jain's discovery of coins bearing legend *Kramāditya* and his identification of the latter with the Gupta king Skandagupta.[4] Many Gupta rulers used this title, for instance Ghaṭotkachagupta and

1. *Kathāsaritsāgara,* Tawney, Penzer, IX, pp. 2ff.
2. *JNSI,* XVI, pp. 211-12.
3. *Kathāsaritsāgara,* IX, p. 103.
4. *Supra,* pp. 31.

Kumāragupta II. But as the coins of Kramāditya were found along with the coins of Mahendrāditya, the supposed Kumāragupta I, there was no alternative but to identify Kramāditya with Skandagupta.

Jain does not explain why the hoard contains only 5.12% coins of his proposed Skandagupta. The small number of the coins of Kramāditya is indicative of his short reign over this region.

There are other points which should also be considered regarding the attribution of these coins.

Jain writes that "no symbols are found on the coins of Kramāditya and those of the Naḷa kings. There is a variety of Mahendrāditya's coins that does not have any symbol below the legend."[1] This type having the solitary letters "was continued by Kramāditya on whose coins we have a single letter *ru* and no symbol. The coins of Kramāditya were followed by those of the Naḷa kings. There the practice of putting the solitary letters has been given up and the device changed."[2]

Most of the scholars make the powerful Naḷa king Bhavadattavarman contemporary of Narendrasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.[3] The latter was ruling from c. 440 A.D. to c. 460 A.D.[4] Altekar writes that Bhavadattavarman defeated Narendrasena in 445 A. D. and "soon after the death of Bhavadattavarman, Narendrasena succeeded in driving them out."[5] It seems to him that Bhavadattavarman died near 450 A.D. Allowing twenty years to his rule, his ascending year can be placed in 430 A.D. We have two other Naḷa kings[6] who preceeded Bhavadattavarman[7] and issued similar money. Thus we see that the coins of the Naḷa kings were issued from the beginning of the 5th century A. D. Skandagupta probably ascended the throne in *c.* 456 A. D.[8] Hence the hypothesis that the coins of Naḷas followed Kramāditya is untenable. So also is the hypothesis as we have already seen, that Prasannamātra was a contemporary of Kumāragupta I, and the cluster

1. Jain, B. C., *op. cit.*, p. 186.
2. Ibid, p. 187.
3. *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, 1954, pp. 107-8.
4. Ibid, p. 106.
5. Ibid, p. 108.
6. *JNSI*, I, pp. 29-35.
7. I have said in the preceding issue of this *journal* (XXV, pt. I, pp. 107-8 that Artthapatti of the coins was not the successor but the predecessor of Bhavadattavarman.
8. *The Classical Age*, p. 25.

of dots and *kalaśa* symbols on Mahendrāditya's (supposed Kumāragupta's) coins might have been borrowed from his coins.[1]

In the time of Skandagupta, the weight of gold coins was increased. The standard weight of gold coinage, in the time of Kumāragupta I, was 126 grains,[2] while Skandagupta raised it to 144 grains.[3] But curiously enough the repousse coins of Mahendrāditya are heavier than those of Kramāditya. Weights of the coins of the former, range from 1.250 to 1.330 gms. whereas those of the latter vary from 1.300 to 1.330 gms. Hence also, Kramāditya and Skandagupta appear to be altogether distinct rulers.

Further, the coins of Skandagupta do not contain any additional letters, but those of Kramāditya, like of his predecessor Mahendraditya, do contain. Hence also Skandagupta cannot be identified with Kramāditya. As similar coins of the Naḷas and Prasannamātra also do not bear these additional letters it cannot be held that Skandagupta Kramāditya was following the local numismatic tradition of South Kosala in this connection.

However, Jain himself, finding difficulties in putting the South Kosala region in the Gupta empire, hesitates in attributing these coins to Gupta rulers with certainty.[4]

Some coins of both Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya contain three dots between the legs of the *Garuḍa*—a fact not noticed by Jain—and those of the former sometimes show only one dot in that position. The implications of this representation, if any, are not known.

The genetive suffix *sya* found only the coins of Kramāditya among all repousse issues is a very interesting point of study in this connection. This we feel was an attempt to improve the repousse coin legends of the Naḷas. But however, the introduction made by Kramāditya was not continued by his successor Mahendrāditya.

For the additional letters on the coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya, Balchandra Jain writes that they "may be numerals devoting the regnal years of the issue of the coins as there was a general custom prevailing in the South Kosala to

1. *Supra*, p. 33.
2. Allen, J., *BMC, GD*, 1914, p. CXXXIII
3. Ibid, pp. CXXXIII-CXXXIV.
4. Jain, *Op. cit.* p. 187.

date the events in the regnal years of the ruling king."[1] But was it the fact ? The Naḷas dated their copper plate inscriptions in the regnal years and not the coins. We do not find any additional letter on the coins of Naḷa kings and Prasanna-mātra[2] which can be taken for numeral. The solitary letters on the coins of Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya are certainly mint marks.

Mahendrāditya of these coins as pointed out earlier is identical with the Mahendrāditya of *Kathāsaritsāgara*. He was followed by his son and successor Vikramāditya. As the hoard contains only the coins of Kramāditya and Mahendrāditya, we can say that Kramāditya was predecessor of Mahendrāditya.

1. Ibid, p. 187.
2. *Proc. of 5th Oriental Conference,* Lahore ; *IHQ*, IX and XV ; *JNSI*, XII, p. 8, plate I, Nos. 4-6 ; *ASI,AR*, 1926-27, p. 230 ; *JNSI*, XVI, pt. II, pp. 215-18, pl., IV, 1-12.

THE COINS OF HARSHA ŚĪLĀDITYA—A REAPPRAISAL

D. DEVAHUTI

Historians eagerly hoped to find the coins of Harsha, king of Sthāṇvīśvara and Kanauj, once the story of his great career had been rediscovered through the works of Bāṇa and Hsüan-tsang.

In his *Coins of Medieval India*, published in 1894, Cunningham illustrated a coin[1] showing, on the obverse, the figure of a horseman, with the legend *Harshadeva*, and, on the reverse, that of a goddess seated on a throne with a cornucopiae in her left hand, which he ascribed to king Harsha-deva of Kashmir, whose association with Kabul[2] induced him to imitate the money of the Śāhī rulers of that kingdom. Hoernle[3], who seems to have been unaware of this fact, doubted Cunningham's ascription, and suggested that the coin belonged to Harsha of Kanauj, who is also sometimes referred to as Harsha-deva. Moreover, he says that the emblem on the coin, of the horseman with the lance at rest "is the mark of the early Rajput", and "the chiefs of Thanesar were Rajputs". We do not agree with the latter statement; Hsüan-tsang's testimony that Harsha was of the Vaiśya class is more reliable. Moreover, the identity of the Harsha-deva of the coin with the Harsha of Kashmir is too well attested by facts recorded by Kalhaṇa to admit of any doubt. Sir Richard Burn also observes that Dr. Hoernle's attribution of this coin to Harsha "does not seem quite satisfactory".[4]

In 1904 an earthen pot, containing one gold, 522 silver and eight copper coins was found in the village of Bhiṭaura, district Fyzabad (Avadh). In 1906 Sir Richard Burn wrote a paper on this find, entitled "Some coins of the Maukharis and of the Thanesar line,"[5] illustrating some specimens of the coins. 284 silver coins of this hoard bear the legend *Śrī Śaladata* (Srī Śīlāditya), while nine belong to *Śrī Pratapaśala* (Śrī Pratāpaśīla). Of the remaining pieces, thirty-two silver coins are of the Maukhari kings and one of a king named Harśa

1. *Coins of Medieval India*, Plate 5, No. 21, pp. 36-7 & 46.
2. *Rājataraṅginī* VII 956, 1550, 1571, 1579. Kalhaṇa informs us that Harsha's chief queen Vasanta-lekhā belonged to the Śāhī dynasty.
3. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, p. 547. He seems to have noted the fact of Harsha-deva's connection with Karṇāṭa only.
4. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 847.
5. *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 843-850.

(not Harsha). Names of kings and in many cases dates also have disappeared from 192 coins. The gold coin is of the later Indo-Scythian type, the copper coins are of Pratāpāditya II of Kashmir, and of the four remaining silver coins, three are *Varāha drammas* and one is of uncertain type.

The 518 silver coins are of the Gupta silver type ; that is, they bear a large head with a date on one side, and a peacock on the other, with a long inscription. On seven coins the head faces the right, as on the Gupta coins, while on the others, which include all the coins of Śīlāditya and Pratāpa-śīla, it faces the left. The inscriptions round the peacock in every case but one read *Vijitāvaniravanipati-śrī-*(name)*-devo jayati.* The vowels are only marked in a few types.

We concur with Burn that "it ... seems reasonable to identify Pratāpa-śīla (of the coins) with Prabhākara-vardhana, and Śīlāditya with Harṣa".[1] Burn, however, does not argue a case for this identification, and the ascription has been accepted only half-heartedly by scholars, who have probed into the question no further than to quote the authority of Burn.[2] We, on our part, believe that Burn's ascription, though not backed by lengthy or reasoned argument, is correct, and is supported by the following facts.

The Chinese sources inform us that Harsha adopted the title Sīlāditya on his accession to the throne of Kanauj. Though the indigenous sources do not mention Harsha as Śīlāditya they honour Prabhākara-vardhana with the *biruda* Pratāpa-śīla, which inclines us to treat the Chinese evidence regarding Harsha's title as perfectly authentic. Harsha records his father's *biruda* in his inscriptions and it seems reasonable to expect that he used his own also for official purposes. He may well have issued his coins in the name Śīlāditya, especially if his father also used his own *biruda* for marking his coinage, which we believe he did, as we agree with Burn that the Pratāpa-śīla coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard are to be attributed to Prabhākara-vardhana.

The two dated coins of Pratāpa-śīla raise certain problems. Each date consists of three symbols. The topmost is the letter *sa*, and one would ordinarily expect this to represent the hundreds, as the other symbols are apparently 10 and 1 or 11. The only symbol for a number which resembles *sa* is, how-

1. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 847.
2. e. g. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj* (1937), p. 117, writes : "If the Śīlāditya coins found in the Bhiṭaura hoard.....are to be attributed to Harṣa, as has been done by Sir Richard Burn,.....".

ever, that used for 40, but no symbol for hundreds, resembling this letter is to be found. The coins of Śīlāditya show clearly that the *sa* cannot be 40. Therefore, it seems *sa* stands for *saṁvat*. The *sa* on Śīlāditya's coins, which invariably appears as the highest symbol, is also to be taken for *saṁvat*. The regnal years on Harsha's inscriptions which we know to be dated in the Harsha era are also preceded by the word *saṁvat*, which no doubt stands for the Harsha *saṁvat*. The point cannot therefore be raised that the *sa*, representating *saṁvat* on the Śīlāditya coins, stands for a long established era, such as the Vikrama or the Gupta, which need not have been referred to by its full name. We believe that as well as in his inscriptions Harsha used *saṁvat*, for his own era on the coins abbreviating the word owing to their small size.

The figure eleven on Pratāpa-śīla's coins and the dates ranging from one to 33 on those of Śīlāditya, indicate that the two monarchs used different eras. It may well be that Prabhākara-vardhana, who was the first king of his family to attain the status of *Mahārājādhirāja*, may have celebrated his attainment by starting an era, a practice which was very much in fashion in those days. Harsha founded yet another era in A. D. 606, probably to commemorate his success in securing the throne of Kanauj, and seems to have issued his first coins under the newly acquired title Śīlāditya.[1] The date 11 on Pratāpaśīla's coins is quite in keeping with the length of Prabhākara-vardhana's reign, which started in c. A.D. 580 and terminated in A.D. 606. New coins may have been issued by Prabhākaravardhana to celebrate the birth of the royal Prince Harsha in A. D. 590, when he had been on the throne for nearly a decade. It is well-known that coins were generously distributed among the populace on festive occasions. The date 33 on Śīlāditya's coins is compatible with the duration of Harsha's reign, which we believe lasted for about forty years from A. D. 606 to A.D. 646-647.

From a comparison of the coins of the Maukharis and those of Śīlāditya and Pratāpa-śīla, it is clear that though the general appearance of the Gupta type coins was retained by the two dynasties, the established tradition of a continuous dating was repeatedly flouted.

The findspot of the hoard containing so many coins of Śīlāditya, and the fact that Pratāpa-śīla's and Śīlāditya's coins have been found together, also favours the identification of these two kings with Prabhākara-vardhana, and Harsha. Though

1. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 213.

several Śīlādityas ruled from Valabhi in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, the coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard may be most ascribed to Harsha Śīlāditya of Kanauj.

It will be well to examine here the arguments put forward by Hoernle[1] in repudiation of Burn's ascription.

The German scholar states that before attributing the Śīlāditya coins to Harsha, it must be proved that he had assumed that title officially. He argues that as neither Bāṇa nor other Indian sources mention this *biruda* of Harsha, and as Hsüan-tsang is our sole authority on this point, it appears that Harsha was known by this title only in "Buddhist monkish communities"

One may comment in passing that if, as Hoernle believes, Harsha was popularly known by this *biruda* amongst Buddhist communities only, the chances are greatly reduced of finding a reference to this *biruda* by Bāṇa, who was a Brahman. However, Hoernle's argument is better refuted by the fact that Harsha is referred to as Śīlāditya not only by the Buddhist monk who was a pious pilgrim, but also by the diplomatic envoys who had been deputed by the Chinese emperor to carry out official business. They, at least, may not be expected to have obtained their information only from the "Buddhist monkish communities". We believe that the Śīlāditya coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard are the available indigenous evidence of the official use of the title Śīlāditya by Harsha, who seems to have followed his father's tradition in issuing his coinage under a *biruda*.

Hoernle attributes the coins of Pratāpa-śīla and Śīlāditya to a king possessing both these names, known to us from the *Rāja-taraṅgiṇī*.[2] Speaking of Pravarasena, Kalhaṇa says that "he replaced Pratāpa-śīla, olso called Śīlāditya, the son of Vikramāditya, who had been dethroned by enemies in the kingdom of his father". This Vikramāditya is identified with Yaśodharman of Mālava, who is credited in the Mandasor inscription[3] with extensive conquests as far as the Himālayas, and Śīlāditya with his son of the same name.[4]

Hoernle writes that "the discovery of coins in the names of Pratāpa-śīla and Śīlāditya is a striking confirmation of the truth of the old Indian tradition". According to his reckoning, Pratāpaśīla Śīlāditya's rule lasted "from about 580 to 608, or

1. *JRAS*, 1909, p. 446 ff.
2. Book III verse 330.
3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, No. 33.
4. Hoernle, *JRAS*, 1903, p. 545 ff.

612, that is from the death of Vikramāditya (Yaśodharman) to the great victory, or to the coronation of Harshavardhana. 'This gives us a period from 26 to 32 years".[1] But we know that Burn reads the latest date on Śīlāditya's coins as 33. There are 30 coins with this date. On 14 more coins the symbol for 30 is fairly certain, but the unit is gone or very doubtful in every case. These coins may be of the year 32, but they may well have been of the years after 33. In any case, as the longest duration ascribed to Pratāpa-śīla Śīlāditya by Hoernle is 32 years, the Śīlāditya coins issued at least until the year 32 cannot be ascribed to the Pratāpa-śīla Śīlāditya of Hoernle's identification Moreover, there is little likelihood that a king named Pratāpa-śīla Śīlāditya should have chosen his latter name for use on a large number of coins for most of his regnal years but should have suddenly reverted to the former name for the coins issued in his eleventh year. This, is, not a conclusive argument, because we are making this suggestion only on the basis of the coins so far discovered.

But Hoernle is not in the least disturbed by the fact of this discrepancy in the dates he ascribes to Pratāpa-śīla Śīlāditya and those yielded by the coins of Śīlāditya. He writes that it "creates no difficulty, for the exact length of the period is, of course, uncertain." About the date 33, considered to be quite certain by Burn, he remarks that one has to be very cautious about the indifferently preserved figures.

Hoernle puts forth the third and the last argument in favour of his theory as the "possible connection of the still unexplained 'aulikara' crest of Yaśodharman with the curious cresent-like object on the head of the king on those coins". It seems to have escaped Hoernle's notice that the crescent appears on both the Maukhari and the Śīlāditya coins. It appears on the Gupta coins also, accompanied by other marks.[2] Apparently both the Maukharis and the Vardhanas retained this symbol, which was one of the minor features of the Gupta type coin they copied. Neither the Maukharis nor the Vardhanas were Chandra-vaṁśī kings. The Maukharis are specifically stated to have been the descendants of the 100 sons of Aśva-pati, who was blessed with such abundant progeny by

1. Hoernle's identification of Pratāpaśīla-Śīlāditya as the son of Yaśodharman is, incidentally, almost impossible if Kalhaṇa's chronology is followed. Yaśodharman was evidently at the height of his power in A. D. 532 (*CII*, III, p. 154), and it is most unlikely that he could have survived until A. D. 580.
2. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the British Museum, Gupta Dynasties and Śaśāṅka* (1936), p. 89 ff. (Kūmāra-gupta I's coins) p. 119 ff. (Skandagupta's coins).

Manu Vaivasvata.[1] The Maukharis thus were Sūrya-vaṁśīs. The Vardhanas belonged to neither of the two traditional royal families.

Hoernle's arguments thus prove too weak to refute the ascription of the Śīlāditya coins of the Bhiṭaura hoard to Harsha.

It will be well to end the discussion of this question with a brief description of the coins of Pratāpaśīla and Śīlāditya.[2]

Pratāpaśīla: The peacock's head is to the left on all nine coins. The crescent on the king's head is about the centre of the top (instead of at the crown as it is usually in the Maukhari coins), and each horn terminates in a knob. We have earlier referred to the reading of the dates and the fact that the vowels are omitted in spelling his name.

Śīlāditya: The name is usually written *Śrīśaladata*, vowels being very rarely given. On a few coins the final letters are more clearly *-tya*. The crescent on the head has also various forms and positions. The dates on many of the coins are varied and present considerable difficulty, as the symbols differ from the ordinary forms. Burn, however, is positive in his reading of the sign *sa* as the highest symbol and the symbols 30+1 and 30+3. On the basis of their dates and number, the coins may be classified as follows[3]:

	Date		*Number of Coins*
(1)	1	(?)	1
(2)	6	(?)	10
(3)	10	(?)	10
(4)	20	(?)	6
(5)	25	(?)	1
(6)	30	(?)	4
(7)	31	(?)	3
(8)	31		24
(9)	33		30
(10)	3		14
			103
(11)	Illegible dates		181
		Total	284

1. The Harahā inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, XIV p. 110 ff.
2. For a full description see Burn, *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 745-7 on which we base this brief account giving the salient points of the coins.
3. Most dates are accompanied by a query mark, as Burn finds the readings doubtful.

Six coins of Śīlāditya are preserved at the British Museum, of which three were presentsd to it in 1906 by the Government of the Central Provinces, India. The remaining three were given it by Nelson Wright, one in 1910 and two in 1129. The dates are clearly read *Sa* (*Saṁvat*) on two coins[1] and the tens figure 3 is clear on a third one.[2] Thus, the readings on these coins are in accordance with Burn's observations on the coins of Śīlāditya.

We have not been able to find out whether the then C. P. Government came in possession of the coins as the result of a local discovery, or whether it was given a share of the large Bhiṭura hoard, of which a portion was presented by it to the British Museum. The most regrettable practice of distribution without labelling was quite common in those days. However, if the coins presented by the C. P. Government belong to that province, they are a secondary evidence of the extension of Harsha's empire in that region. The importance of this possibility should not be exaggerated, however firstly because we are not sure of the findspot of the coins in question and, secondly, because coins are the most easily portable objects.

1. One from the 1906 group and the other of 1910.
2. One of the two coins presented in 1929. The dates on the remaining three coins are very doubtful or illegible.

NUMISMATIC GLEANINGS FROM *MAÑJUSRĪ MŪLAKALPA*

A. B. L. AWASTHI

India in the past had her vast and varied field of coinage current in this sub-continent. Their names and forms as well as antiquity have been enveloped in the mist caused by the abrupt convulsions in her body-politic. Literature, itself vast and varied, does throw important light on many obscure shades of ancient Indian numismatics.

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, a well-known Buddhist text, displays its knowledge of various denominations of ancient Indian coinage. It refers to *Suvarṇa*,[1] *Dināra*,[2] *Purāṇa*,[3] *Kārshāpaṇa*,[4] *Paṇa*,[5] *Māshaka*[6] and *Rūpaka*.[7] *Nishka*[8] is mentioned, but once and it is not certain, if it is a coin. *Suvarṇa*[9] too is mentioned to denote a lump of gold and so also is *Hiraṇya*[10] used in the same sense. Thus it is apparent, that the terms viz., *Nishka*, *Suvarṇa* and *Hiraṇya*, were also in use denoting gold, other than the standard gold coins of the past.

Pala (*Suvarṇa-pala*),[11] *Mātrā*[12] and *Karsha*[13] denoted the units of weights prevalent even in the early medieval India. According to Manu, a *Pala* is equated to four *Suvarṇas* (*palam suvarṇa-śchatvāraḥ*).[14] *Kārshāpaṇa*, one of the most popular coins of ancient India, derived its name from the unit called *Karsha* (*tāmrikaḥ kārshikaḥ paṇaḥ*).[15] These were the well-known names in the past (*yāḥsaṁjñāḥ prathitaḥ bhuvi*).[16]

1. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, (hereafter abbreviated as *MMK*), pp. 568, 570, 571, 671, 672, 675, 678, 683, 684, 702, 716, 718.
2. Ibid, pp. 67, 314, 316, 569, 573, 574, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 684, 685.
   Ibid, pp. 688, 689, 692, 694, 706, 707, 708, 710, 711, 712, 718.
3. Ibid, pp. 677, 688.
4. Ibid, pp. 672, 697, 708.
5. Ibid, p. 679.
6. Ibid, p. 672 : *Daśamāshakaṁ labhate.*
7. Ibid, pp. 673, 677, 678, 679, 688, 706, 718.
8. Ibid, p. 370.
9. Ibid, p. 688.
10. Ibid, p. 712.
11. Ibid, p. 698 : *Suvarṇa pala śatam labhate.*
12. Ibid, p. 57.
13. Ibid, p. 57 : *Shoḍaśa mātraṁ palaṁ vā karshaṁ vā.....*
14. *Manu*, VIII. 135.
15. Ibid, VIII. 136.
16. Ibid, VIII. 131.

The name of a coin given as *Daśamāśaka*[1] deserves some attention. Evidently this coin conveyed the value of 10 *māshakas*. Most probably it denoted *Ardha-kārshāpaṇa*, where *Kārshāpaṇa* was equal to 20 *māshakas*. From *Vinayapiṭaka* we know that such *Kārshāpaṇa* was current in the early Buddhist period. There are references to half *Kārshāpaṇa*, quarter *Kārshāpaṇa* and *Māśaka*[2] which seems to be the lowest unit equal to one-twentieth part of a *kahāpaṇa*. Even in the age of Śrī Śaṅkarāchārya, a *Kārshāpaṇa* comprising 4 *Pādas* was a popular coin.[3] *Vinayapiṭaka* refers repeatedly to a variety of coin called *Pañchamāśakaṁ*[4] which was styled *Pāda* (*Pañchamāsako pādo*)[5] and it was current in Rājagṛiha as well as in the neighbouring region.[6] Thus, evidently *Daśamāshaka* or 2 *Pādas* denoted *Aḍḍhaṁ Kahāpaṇaṁ* (*Ardham Kārshāpaṇam*) of *Vinayapiṭaka*. Śankara's reference to *Kārshāpaṇa Chatushpāt* lends support to our contention that in the age of Śankara or that of *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* i. e. early medieval India, *Daśamāshaka* was current in the country, particularly in eastern India.

A large number of references to these various coins, which one expected to get after the successful performance of the rites, shows the prevalence as well as popularity of these coins in that age. We are further told that a pair of clothes—suit—could be purchased for 5 *Dīnāras*. Thus the gold coin *Dīnāra* was current in the markets, particularly for buying valuable articles like fine clothes etc. The literary works and inscriptions of the early medieval India also refer to the circulation of *Dīnāras*.[7]

Another important and interesting point worth careful notice is the nomenclature of *Rūpakas* as coins. The term 'Punch-marked coins' applied to our oldest currency is a modern nomenclature coined by the modern numismatistis. It is quite natural to seek its ancient name and form. The scholars think

1. *MMK*, p. 672; Rājaśekhara also, in his *Karpūramañjarī* (Chaukhamba Edn. 1955), refers to *Daśamāsa* (=*Daśamāsha*), (p. 118, III, *Javanika*) and *Dasamasiena* (=*Daśamāshikena*) =*Dasamāśika* (p. 121, III, *Javanika*).
2. *Vinayapiṭaka*, Chullavaggapāli (Ed. Bhikshu J. Kashyapa, 1956, Nalanda), p. 416 : *kahāpaṇaṁ pi aḍḍhaṁ pi pādaṁ pi māsaka rūpaṁ pi.*
3. While commenting on *So'yamatmā Chatushpāt* (*Māṇḍūkyopanishad*, verse 2, p. 26) Śankara explains : *So'yaṁ atmonkārābhidheyaḥ..... Vyavasthitaśchatushpāt kārshāpaṇa vat.....*" (*Māṇḍūkyopanishad*, Gita Press Edn., VS. 2009, p. 27).
4. *Parivārapāli* p. 55, lines 12, 13, 14. Ibid, p. 88, lines 6, 7, 8.
5. *Vinayapitaka*, Pārājika Pāli, p. 55, lines 13-14.
6. Ibid, p. 55. 13-14 ; *tena kho paṇa samayena Rājagahe pañchamāsako pādo hoti.*
7. *JNSI*, XXV, pp. 1, 14-15.

that *Āhata* was such a name applied to ancient *Kārashāpaṇas* because various symbols were impressed on them. V. S. Agrawala suggests *Rūpya* as a suitable name for this type of ancient Indian coinage. He holds that the word *rūpa* in *Rūpadarśaka* and *Rūpatarka* denotes a coin as is also supported by *Mahāpiśuna-jātaka* (1/374).[1] The inscriptions of Gupta and post-Gupta periods show that *Dīnāras* as well as *Rūpakas* were then current in the country.[2] Mirashi holds: "The Early Chālukyas and their feudatories such as Harish Chandrīyas seem to have used *Rūpakas* of the Kalachuri Krishṇarāja, who flourished more than a century before".[3] He adds: "As stated before, the coins of Krishṇarāja circulated over a very wide territory from Rajputana in the north to Mahārāshṭra in the south, and from Koṅkana in the west to Vidarbha in the east. They continued to be current long after Krishṇarāja; ..... The silver coins of the Kshatrapas which were struck to the same weight standard as the coins of Krishṇarāja were called *Kārshāpaṇas*. Later on, however, this denomination seems to have given place to *Rūpaka*. The Añjaneri Plates show that the coins of Kṛishṇarāja were called *Krishṇarāja-rūpakas*, evidently to distinguish them from the *Rūpakas* of the Kshatrapas, the Sātavāhanas, and the Traikūṭakas which were similar in fabric.[4] Thus the antiquity and a long circulation of the *Rūpakas* as a particular variety of ancient coinage is well established. *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* refers to *Rūpakas* as the coins of Ajayarāja called *Ajaya-priya Rūpakas*[5] like *Krishṇaraja-rūpakas* mentioned above. Jonarāja, the commentator, calls the *Rūpakas* as *Dīnāraviśeshas* without giving their specific characteristics, though the text itself mentions these special features in the preceding verse.[6] While giving an account of wealth (*Śrī*, *PV*, V. 87) it observes:

As durvarṇamayair bhūmiṁ rūpakaiḥ paryapūrayat,
taṁ suvarṇamayaistatra kavivargastava pūrayat /
Pṛithvīrājavijaya, V. 88."

Here the words *varṇa*, *bhūmi*, and *rūpaka* convey meanings more than one. Jonarāja takes *varṇa* and *rūpaka* respectively in the sense of letter (*akshara*) and drama (*nāṭaka*) and that is true in the context of Kavi-varga. Dasharatha Sharma observes:

1. *Pāṇini-kālīna Bhāratavarsha*, p. 266.
2. Sircar, *Select Ins.*, p. 343, Baigram Inscr. of G. E. 128, line 6; *CII*, IV, pp. 151-153; Anjaneri Plates (First Set) of Bhogasakla (year 461), lines 36, 37, 38, 60; Ibid, pp. 158-159 (Second Set), lines 34, 35, 36; *JNSI*, XXV, pt. I, pp. 12-13.
3. *CII*, IV, pp. CLXX iii, foot note 8.
4. Ibid, pp., CLXXXII.
5. *Prithvīrāja Vijaya* (Ajmer 1941 A.D.), V. 89.
6. Ibid, V. 88.

"He filled, states the *PV*, the earth with silver *rūpakas* (rupees) and the poets filled it instead with *rūpakas* (dramas) bearing golden letters. He wrested the fame of present rulers by means of soldiers eager for victory (*jayapriya*) and of those already past or to come with his Ajayapriya coins. His beloved queen Somalekhā too had not her hands sullied because she had new coins issued daily," (canto V, verses 87-89).[1] Here Sharma follows Jonarāja. But *rūpa* is used, elsewhere, in *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* in the sense of money and form (*PV*, 136, 141, 146 ; XI. 22). Kauṭilya refers to silver coins (*rūpyarūpa*) and copper-coins (*tāmrarūpa*).[2] According to Kauṭilya, the Superintendent of salt was directed to realise not only the value of salt, "but also the premium of five percent (*vyajim*), both in cash (*rūpa*).[3] Shamasastry observes : "The word *rūpa* is ambiguous ; whether it means *parikshika*, the testing charge.....or whether it means cash, is not possible to determine. It has, however, been taken here in its sense cash".[4]

As pointed out above, *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* also uses the word in the sense of money :

Yuvabhir-jīryamāno pi rūpeṇa labhate balam.[5]

The poet asserts that the lost strength and youth could be regained with the help of money.[6] The poet further asserts that the kings' fame in all the three worlds is only based on wealth (*eka rūpa samāśrita*).[7] Thus the poet upholds the supremacy of wealth or money (*rūpamayattata*).[8] But as it has been pointed out above that *śliṣṭ* use of *rūpa*—double entende—is to be always met in this *Kāvya*. We find in the verse V. 146 of *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya* that *rūpa* is used separately in the sense of money as well as form :

Yauvanena vapuḥ strīṇām yatra rūpeṇa yauvanaṁ,
rūpam kānti viśeshena salavanyena garjati.

It is an apt use of the word. *Rūpa*, derived from the verbal root *rūpa* meaning to form (*rūpakriyāyāṁ*), also represents

1. *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 41, note 55. Here it may be pointed that Ajmer (1948) Edn. of *PV*, refers to Somalekhās *nava rūpakas* in V. 90.
2. Shamasastry, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* (Mysore 1951) pp. 86-87.
3. Ibid, p. 87.
4. Ibid, p. 87, footnote 9.
5. *PV*, V. 136. Here the text is defective and we would mend it as "*Yuvabhir-jīryamāno pi*, instead of '*yuvabhi jīryamāno pi*'.
6. Ibid, V. 146.
7. Ibid, V. 141 ; here the poet gives an account of kings public works viz. *vāpī*, *kūpa* and *taḍāga* etc. which proclaim his fame in all the regions, (*PV*, V. 140).
8. Ibid, XI. 22 ; cf. *Śantiparva*, Chaps. 11 & 12.

form and symbol. Hence *Rūpaka* is a coin bearing figure, form or symbol ; *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (VI. 1). of Viśvanātha aptly explains *Rūpāka* (here, meaning a drama) as *tadrūpa ropattu rūpakam*, i. e. *Svarūpa ropadrupakamityuchyate.*

Thus *Rūpaka* as a coin definitely denoted what the modern numismatists call Punch-marked coins. *Pṛithivīrāja-vijaya* in the much quoted verse (V. 88) distinguishes the two varieties of *Rūpakas* viz., silver *rūpakas* (*durvarṇa-rūpakas*) and Gold *rūpakas* (*Suvarṇa-rupakas*). The words *durvarṇa* and *suvarṇa* respectively refer to a crude and fine portrayal in forms. Similarly the term *nava rūpakas* of Somalekhā, issued daily (*PV*, V. 30), points to the circulation of new varieties of *Rūpakas*, which bore different forms portrayed on them (*chitrastham*, or *likhitam*, *PV*, XI. 22). *Pṛithvīrājavijaya* tends to show that there was some testing agency (*pūrīkshā pūrvakari*) for *rūpasyottamaṁ* (*PV*, XI. 19), as we know from Kauṭilya that there was an examiner of coins (*rūpa-darśaka*) and so was a *Lakshaṇādhyahsha.*[1] Buddhaghosha also refers to *Lakshaṇas* or symbols as well as *Rūpa-sūtra*, a treatise dealing with the *rūpa* or symbols. Thus *Lakshaṇādhyaksha* and *Rūpadarśakas* of Kauṭilya were to see the proper representation of the *rūpas* on the State coinage.

Manjuśrī-mūlakalpa, itself, uses the word *rūpa*[2] in the sense of form, figure and symbols portrayed by a painter depicting all features (*lakshaṇa samanva gatena chitrakāreṇa*).[3] But the study and interpretation of these various *rūpas* found on the *Rūpakas* is a mystery to-day. In the past, their true nature and significance could be ascertained with the help of the *śāstras* (*jñeyaṁ śāstratotattvaṁ*)[4] as well as with the help of various *liṅga-vidhānas.*[5] Thus it is evident that even in the age of *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* there was some numismatic treatise dealing with these symbols. As such, *Rūpasutta*, a text alluded to by Buddhaghosha dealing with various (*chitta-vichitta*) *lakshaṇas*, or some such works were available then.

Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa also throws much light on symbolism in ancient India. It refers to both, auspicious and inauspicious, as well as mild and violent symbols.[6] These are probably *divya-pushpa* (divine flower, probably lotus), *dhvaja*

1. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 86-87,
2. *MMK*, p. 39 ; *rūpam Chitrakāraiścha pūrayitavyaṁ* cf. *PV*, V, 88, *MMK*, p. 39, uses the words *akārayet*, *likhet* and *Śuklapītaraktakṛishṇa-harito varṇair*) *Varṇayet.* It is in the sense of colours that *PV*, V. 88, uses the word *Varṇamayai.*
3. Ibid, p. 61.
4. Ibid, p. 250.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, pp. 4, 250.

(flag), *patākā* (flag-staff), *mālā* (garland), *kula-ratna* (principal *ratnas*, seven *ratnas* are regarded as the representativs of imperial splendour and status), *tri-ratna* (Buddha, Dhamma and Samgha), *pañcharatna* (a collection of 5 gems). This Buddhist text refers to many symbols associated with Buddha (*āryānaṁ yāni chinhāni*)[1] or *tathāgata chinha*.[2] There are also mentioned some auspicious birds of land and water as well as the middle region (sky) viz., *mayūra* (peacock), *krauñcha, haṃsa* (goose), and *chakravāka*, etc.[3] Similarly trees, particularly *Bodhivṛiksha*, was also a sacred symbol.[4] The well dressed and decorated women were also regarded as auspicious.[5] Many lines and *mudrās* were objects of portrayal.[6] Thus we see that these various symbols—*rūpas, ākārās, chinhas* or *liṅgas*—marked on the coins or in the sculpture and painting played a very important role in the history and culture of ancient India. They were meant to convey different ideas and episodes to the mind and heart of the people. The depiction of *divyāni rūpāni*—divine forms and symbols—was a tradition of long standing in ancient Indian mint-masters. *Rūpaka*, thus, is an appropriate as well as ancient term for the old Indian money.

1. Ibid, p. 238.
2. Ibid, p. 10.
3. Ibid, p. 56.
4. Ibid, pp. 118, 119.
5. Ibid, p. 128.
6. Ibid, p. 138.

BILINGUAL COINS OF MAHMUD OF GHAZNI

A. K. BHATTACHARYYA

The National Museum of India has in its collections a few coins of Mahmud of Ghazni. These coins are struck on the model of Ghaznavide kings and are calld *Dirham* on the coins themselves. They bear Arabic and Sanskrit legends on obverse and reverse respectively, showing a number of varieties in the legends, the dates and the lettering and its arrangements. Considering the varieties in the Sanskrit legend and the dates, on the reverse, they fall mainly into two classes. The British Museum collection of these coins as catalogued by S. Lane-Poole[1] affords examples of both these varieties (Nos. 505-509 in one group and Nos. 510-514 in the other).

A specimen of the first variety was acquired for the collection of the Indian Museum in 1929, wherein the Sanskrit legends were read as follows :[2]

Rev. area : *avyaktam = eka* (*ṁ*)
Muhammad (*a*)
vatāra nṛipa
ti Mahamuda

margin : (*avyaktīya*) *nāme ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ*
hata mahamudapure samvati 418

The Arabic legend on the obverse can be read as follows :

Obv. area :

القادر
لااله الاالله
محمد رسول الله
نظام الدين
ابو القسم

margin :

بسم الله ضرب (?) هذ الدرهم بمحمودپور سنة ثمان عشرة و اربعماية

Commenting on this coin, the Late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit read[3] the marginal legend on the reverse in Sanskrit

1. S. Lane-Poole : *The Coins of the Mohammadan Dynasties in the British Museum*, Classes III-X, London, 1876, pp. 149-51.
2. *ASI, AR*, 1929-30, p. 198.
3. *JRASB*, II, 1936, No. 3, Num. Suppl., p. 29N.

as *Avyaktīya* (—) *nāme hato*—struck in the name of God, being a translation in Sanskrit of بسم الله ضرب. The improved reading of the Rao Bahadur here as also for the next word as : *Mahamūdapure* can be accepted as correct.

So far as the Arabic legend on the obverse is concerned, it conforms to the reading on the first variety, e.g. No. 505, of the British Museum with this difference that there is a *ḍamma* above as in No. 507 of that group.

A specimen of the second type which came to me for examination recently has the obverse area as in No. 506 of the British Museum Catalogue. The obverse margin reads :

[بسم الله] هذ الدرهم [بمحمودپور] سنه تسع عشرة و اربعماية

This marginal legend is practically a mixture of the marginal legends of Nos. 505 and 510 with the notable omission of the word ضرب after the expression بسم الله with the date 419 A. H.

The reverse of this coin supplies us with the most interesting part of the marginal legend in Sanskrit which remains so far not fully explained. The British Museum coin No. 510[1] to which this specimen mostly conforms as to its type, has the legend (as read by Lane-Poole) :

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ Mahamūdapura ghaṭe tatā Jikīyera saṁvatī 419.

Rao Bahadur Dikshit[2] gave his suggested reading of the above thus :

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ Mahamūdapuraghaṭe hata(o) Jiṅāyana saṁvatī 419.

Although the reading of the word '*hato*' above gives a sensible meaning, viz., that of 'striking (coin)', the suggestion is not warranted by the actual letters readable on the coins. Further, to read the era (*Saṁvat*) as *Jināyana* (lit. movement of the Jina) to indicate the era of the Flight of the Prophet, i. e. the Hijra era, is indeed going too far. Jina (lit. a Conqueror) stands for the Conqueror (of the eight-fold *Karmans*) in Jainism where the word is accepted as denoting the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. In fact, Al-Biruni uses the term to denote the Buddha. Although the fourth letter of this word is to be read as *na* (न), the knowledge of Sanskrit that was made use of in the Sanskritization of the Arabic legends would hardly have tolerated such a suggestion. In fact, in the legend in the area on these coins the term used for the Prophet of Islam is '*avatāra*'.

1. S. Lane-Poole, op. cit., loc. cit.
2. *JRASB*, II, 1936, loc. cit.

On the other hand, the legend clearly read *ṭi* (टि) after *gha* (घ) while the preceding letter is definitely *re* (रे) and not *ra* (र), so that the legend in these portions must be read :

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ(ḥ) Mahamūdapure ghaṭita(ḥ)

Now the word *ghaṭitaḥ* (lit. effected or fashioned) as used here must have the same meaning as *hataḥ* in the other variety, i. e. in the sense of being 'struck' or 'minted'. The use of the term *ghaṭitaḥ* in this sense of 'striking' or 'incising' is vouched for from very early times in Indian epigraphic and other records. The 14th Rock Edict of Aśoka has this use of the word as early as the 3rd century B. C.[1] The first to read this part of the legend correctly was V. S. Agrawala, whose reading was published[2] as far back as 1943.

Lane-Poole's reading *jikīyera* (जिकीयेर) is meaningless and the fourth letter here is definitely *na* (न) and not *ra* (र), so that the remaining portion seems to read :

Tājikīyena saṁvatī(ti) 419

The use of the word *Tājikīya* as the name of the era referred to is singularly appropriate. There is no doubt that the era referred to here is the Hijra era of which the year 419 is the date of the issue of these coins, both according to the Arabic legend on the obverse and the Sanskrit on the reverse. Now, the word *Tāzīk* (تازيک) from *Tāzī* (تازي) meaning Arabic, denotes[3] 'one of Arab blood, born and brought up in Persia'. This word in India came to signify at a still later age the Arabic science of astrology. This is most probably due to the fact that the science of astrology as also astronomy was one of those subjects in which the early Muhammadan scholars who visited India showed keen interest so much so that after the lapse of several centuries works on these subjects translated originally from Sanskrit into Arabic had to be re-translated from Arabic into Sanskrit, the originals having been lost, and the science itself, because of the above fact, came to be called *Tājika* (ताजिक). We have a tradition in Sanskrit works on the science that Tājika is the science of astrology as transmitted to the Yavanas from the Sun (cf. *Sūrya-Siddhānta*) who got it from Brahman Himself :[4]

1. Inscriptions of Aśoka, 14th R. E. cf. *Na cha sarvata ghaṭitam* (Girnar) (p. 57 of Bhandarkar's edition).
2. *JNSI*, V, pt. II, pp. 155 f.
3. Steingass : *Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 275 ;
4. *Tājika-Nīlakaṇṭhī* by Nīlakaṇṭha, published by M. Khelari and Sons, Benares, p. 1.

ब्रह्मणा भानवे प्रोक्तं भानुना यवनाय तत् ।
यवने न तु यत् प्रोक्तं ताजिकं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥

A book on astrology entitled *Tājika-Nīlakaṇṭhī* composed by Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Ananta, in Śaka 1509[1] is so called because of the fact that the author, Nīlakaṇṭha, bases his work on the previous text of the Arabs indicated by the word *Tājika*. The use of the term ताजिकीय[2], particularly, to denote the Arabian era is most probably to be explained by the fact that the Sanskrit scholar in the following of Mahmud, Al-Biruni, whose deep knowledge of the Indian language was being utilized at every such step, was one whose greatest interest lay in astrology and astronomy. He knew certainly the word *Tājika* as being used for the science of astrology received from the Arabs. From the science it denoted to the Sanskritists of the land, the people, from amongst whom the early visitors to this country took the greatest interest in it. Thus both from the Arabic meaning of the word and from the Sanskritic use of it in the sense of the Arabic science of astrology, the contemporary people of the land must have liked to have anything pertaining to these foreigners called by the term *Tājikīya* (ताजिकीय). And Al-Biruni's suggestion for rendering the Hijra era by *Tājikīya samvat* is therefore as natural as his rendering of Allah by *Avyakta*. These two are not simply coincidental but are to be explained by the fact that while he knew the term *Avyakta* from his study of the Sāṁkhya system as denoting Attributeless or Unmanifested (which description most suited the conception of Allah as a singular and unmanifested or formless entity), he also knew that the term *Tājika* was being used by the Indian scholars in astrology to designate the latter science as based on Arabic sources.

The letter at the end of the word (ताजिकीयेर) is clearly readable in the present specimen as (न) instead of (र) as read by previous scholars.[3] I would therefore suggest the corrected reading of the legend in the margin on the reverse of this type of bilingual coins of Mahmud of Ghazni as follows :

ayaṁ ṭaṁkaṁ(ḥ) Mahamūdapure ghaṭita(ḥ) Tājikīyena samvatī(ti) 419

'This *ṭaṁka* was struck at Mahmudpur in the Tājikīya era 419.'

1. Ibid., published in the Haridas Sanskrita Granthamala, Benares, No. 143, p. 5, Intro.
2. For certain more occurrences of the term ताजिक or तज्जक as connoting an Arab,, see V. S. Agrawala, loc. cit.
3. See V. S. Agrawala, loc. cit.

SOME NOTABLE MUGHAL COINS

C. R. SINGHAL

1.

An Important Rupee of Akbar of Agra Mint.

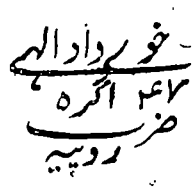
At No. 683 of the *Catalogue of the Mohammadan Coins in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (England), a Jalāla type silver coin of Akbar of Agra mint and dated 47—Khurdad Ilahi is described. Due to its importance, the same coin was also noticed and illustrated by Whitehead at p. 431 of his *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Panjab Museum.* The most important feature of this coin is the word روپیه inscribed below ضرب on the reverse. We are not aware of any silver coin in the entire Muslim series on which such a word occurs. The Lucknow Museum may also be considered lucky in receiving another specimen of the same type as treasure trove from the Agra district. The stamping of this word on these two silver coins of Akbar goes to prove that all silver coins issued by him and his successors were called 'Rupiya'. Strange to say that this denomination has continued even till today. The coin is described as under :—

Round ; Weight 173 grs. ; Mint Agra ; Date 47-Khurdad Ilahi.

Obv.
In ornamental border



Rev.
In ornamental border



2.

Two Rare Falus of Akbar.

Following important coins have been discovered from a T. T. hoard of 1774 copper coins found in the Kanpur district in the year 1956.

(a) Mint Salīmābād. Date 1009 H.

Obv. 

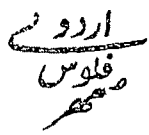
Rev. 

Mint mark  at (a)

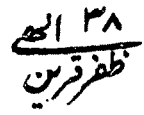
There are seven coins of this variety in the hoard. Uptil now only one coin of this type, but dated 1000 H., was found by Whitehead and the same was described by him at p. 224 of *N. S.*, XIII. About this mint, Whitehead, at p. XXIX of his *Catalogue*, says "The representative of the Chishtīs in the earlier years of Akbar's reign was Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, from whom Salīm, afterwards the emperor Jahāngīr, took his name. Prince Salīm was born in 977, and Shaikh Salīm Chishtī died in 979. In 1007 a *dām* was issued of the normal Ajmer type, but on which the name Ajmer is replaced by the new honorific title of Salīmābād.

(b) Mint Urdu-Zafar Qarin, Date 38 Ilahi

Obv. In a dotted circle



Rev. In a dotted circle



The coins of this type are included in almost all the catalogues of Mughal coins. On all of them, the legend on the obverse is read as ضرب فلوس اردوے, but on this specimen, it is inscribed as مُہر فلوس اردوے . It is the only novel feature of this coin. This word *muhar* written in this manner مُہر is also found on the copper *dams* of Akbar issued from the Allahabad mint. Except Lane Poole and Nelson Wright (No. 367), every body has deciphered it as ضرب . On p. XCIII of *B.M.C. of Mughal Coins*, Lane Poole says, "The *mohar* of Ilāhābās (315 grs.) is also clearly a dām and the word *mohar* is probably used, not as a denomination, but merely as meaning "stamp". In the collection of the Lucknow Museum, there are many specimens on which the word مُہر can clearly be read. On some specimens, the diacritical mark of (ُ) (Pesh) above this word can be easily noticed which goes to prove that this word is definitely مُہر and not ضرب as stated by some authors.

3.

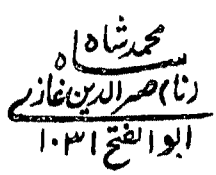
Some Important Coins of the Mughal Period

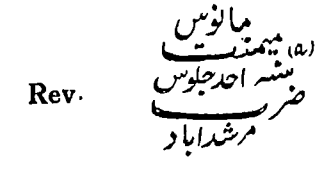
In November 1963, I had a chance to see the collection of Shri S. M. Shukla of Bombay and the following three coins struck me as very interesting. These are being published here with his kind permission.

(a) A unique rupee of Muhammad Shah.

Mint Murshidabad, Date 1031 Ahd.

This rupee, issued in the first year of his reign, has a novel legend not found on any of his coins known to us so far.





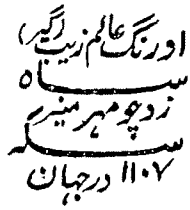
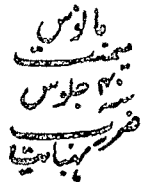
New M. M. ⊛ at (a)

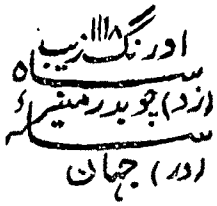
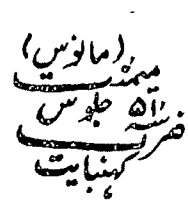
The title of '*Nāsir-u-d-din Abulfateh*' is entirely different from his other titles usually found on his coins. At p. 307 of *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Hodivala states full Style and Titles of Muhammad Shah as '*Abul Muzaffar Nasiru-d-din Muhammad Shah Padishah-i-Ghazi*'.

But he admits many authors of other historical books assign this Emperor, the *Kunyat* '*Abul-Fateh*' instead of '*Abul Muzaffar*'. The legend inscribed on this coin now proves this fact.

(b) Two half rupees of Aurangzeb of Khambayat Mint.

A large number of rupees of Aurangzeb issued from this sea port of Gujarat are known to us. But no half rupees of this mint were published in any catalogue of Mughal coins. At p. 550 of *N. S.*, No. XX, five half rupees of Aurangzeb issued from this mint were noted by Dr. Taylor. They are dated 19-1087, 24-1091, 3X-1098, 3X-1100, and 34-1102 H. But the dates on our specimens, which were issued towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign, are new. Both these coins were issued from different dies in different years and in different legends. One bears the lengend بهر منیر while the other بدر منیر These are being described below :

1. Obv.  Rev. 

2. Obv.  Rev. 

4.

A Unique Rupee of Rafi'-ud-Daulah Shah Jahan II

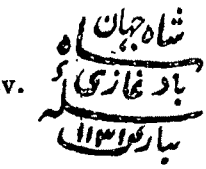
S. Lane Poole says that "year 1131 H. witnessed the remarkable spectacle of four princes successively assuming the crown. Two of them were set up in rapid sequence by the Sayyid brothers; they were both sons of the late prince Rafi'-us-Shān, the son of Bahadur and were styled Rafi'-ud-Darjāt and Raji'-ud-Daulah Shah Jahan II. The first died in four months, and the second followed him to the grave after holding the nominal sceptre for a few months".[1]

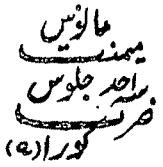
This rupee of Kora mint was received at the Lucknow Museum as treasure trove from the Banaras district of U. P. Like all other coins of other mints of this ruler, the present coin is dated in 1131 *ahd.* The coins of Rafi'-ud-Darjāt were issued in his own name while those of his brother Rafi'-ud-Daulah were struck in the name of Shahjahan (II).

Except a passing reference by Taylor[2] no other coins of Shahjahan II of Kora mint are described anywhere. Kora is a small town in the Fatehpur district of U. P. and a large number of rupees of Muhammad Shah were issued from this mint.

1. *BMC of Mughal Coins*, p. XXXVI.
2. *NS*, No. XIV, p. 572.

The legend on this coin is as under :

Obv. 

Rev. 

5.

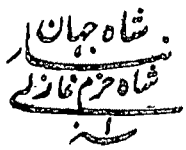
An Extremely Rare Rupee of Shāh Jahān in the name of Shah Khurram

Khurram was the princely name of Shah Jahan. Jahangir informs us in his *Tuzuk* that this prince was given at birth the name of 'Sultan Khurram,' because 'his advent made the World joyous (Khurram).' We also learn that Sultan Khurram was given the title of *Shāh* and ordered to be styled 'Shah Sultan Khurram' in the eleventh year of his reign. We know that Jahangir's coins were issued in the name of Salim and this practice of issuing coins in the princely name was followed by some of his successors.

Following specimens of this variety were published before :—

1. No. 578 of the *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the British Museum, London.*
2. No. 3 of the article "Some notable coins of the Mughal Emperors of India" published in Part II of *Num. Chronicle* (5th series), p. 363, by Whitehead. This specimen is in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York.
3. No. 6 of the same article, Part II, published in Vol. X (5th series), p. 207. This is a unique Nisar in the collection of Christ Church Library, Oxford. It is the only known Nisar which bears a rhyming distich. The legend on it is read and translated by him as under :—

Obv : In triple circle on floral field.



Rev : As on obverse



The couplet

مهر کند سپهر زر از سرافرازی
نثار شاهجهان شاه خرم غازی

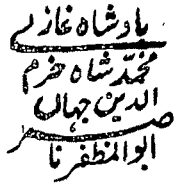
"The sun (or impression) makes a sky of gold through the exaltation of the Nisar of Shah Jahan, Shah Khurram Ghazi." This translation does not seem to be convincing. My humble suggestion is given below :—

نثار شاهجهان شاه خرم غازی
مهر کند سپهر زر از سرافرازی

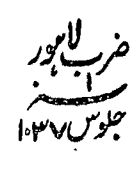
"The Nisar of Shah Jahan Shah Khurram Ghazi proudfully struck coins on the sky (i. e. Sun and Moon)."

Recently the State Museum, Lucknow, has acquired another specimen, which tallies in all respects with No. 1 and 2 of the above list. All these coins were issued from the Lahore mint. The legend on these rupees runs as under :—

Obv :



Rev : In a dotted circle, the Kalmia and



The absence of the title شهاب‌الدین in all these specimens clearly proves that these coins were issued prior to the actual enthronement of the king. In this connection Hodivala, in his *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, p. 299, states :—

"There can be little doubt that the unique Lahor rupee in the British Museum (No. 578) on which the *laqab* of the Emperor is given as ناصرالدین was struck before the formal choice of شهاب‌الدین on the day of the enthronement. We know that the *Khutba* was read by Āsaf Khān's orders at Lahor on Sunday the 21st of Jumad I, 1037 and we may be sure that the inclusion of the birth name (Khurram) and the absence of the second adjunct Sahib Qiran were both due to the fact of the official style and titles of the new emperor having not yet been fixed."*

*[*Note*—All the four coins mentioned above were issued from Lahore mint in the first regnal year of Shahjahan. There are reasonable grounds for Singhal's suggestion that

they were issued before the formal coronation. But they were not issued merely in the follow of the innovation of Jahangir. We explicitly know that Shah Jahan had ordered that all coins should continue to bear the name of his father upto the day of his formal coronation. A coin issued in his name from Surat before the coronation was disowned by him. The factors at Ahmadabad wrote to the East India Company on the 21st January 1628, "What money is coined in this town bear the stamp of Shaw Selim (i.e. Shah Salim—Jahangir) by prince's own order at this being here till he bee crowned in Dillie so that the quoyning of money in Surat under his name is affirmed to be done by the Governor there without his order ; neither will they pass here without some losse."[1] In view of this order coins could not be issued in the emperor's name. So it appears that the moneyers at Lahore adopted a *via media* of saving themselves from the disobedience of the order and at the same time avoiding the name of the deceased emperor. They gave the princely name of the king on their coins, meaning thereby that it was not the royal coinage, yet it was.—*P. L. Gupta*]

1. W. Foster, *English Factorie in India*, 1626-1629, p. 232.

THREE UNIQUE SOUTH INDIAN COPPER COINS

P. N. MOHANDAS

[Plate VII]

In the course of a cursory examination of hoards of South Indian copper coins in the cabinet of the Madras Government Museum by me and my colleague Shri P. R. Srinivasan, now Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund, we came across a large number of small coins with a series of interesting iconographic, floral, animal and bird motifs. This led us to study similar collections of coins in the Government Museum, Pudukkottai, and in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. Subsequently four private collections were also examined. We have so far examined about 5,000 coins and each collection has brought out new motifs in iconography and other subjects. It is seen that this interesting group of coins has not been adequately studied. It has therefore been proposed to examine as many collections as possible and get a comprehensive catalogue of these coins published by the Madras Museum.

We have, for example, noticed figures of deities like Umāmaheśvara, Gaṇeśa, Vishṇu, dancing Bālakṛishṇa, Kāliya-Kṛishṇa, Veṅkateśa, Narasiṁha, Yoganarasiṁha, Subrahmaṇya with Vallī and Devasenā, Lakshmī and Durgā and other motifs like Hanumāna, Garuḍa and Rāmanātha Liṅga (of Rāmeśwaram) with the figures of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa. The above motifs have been noticed on a number of coins. Here, however, I am placing before the scholars three coins with unique and interesting iconographic motifs on them, namely, Naṭarāja, Śeshaśāyī and Vaikuṇṭha.

At the outset, I would like to give the general fabric and pattern of the coins examined by us. All of them are copper and round in form. Their weights vary from 0.85 to 1.50 grammes. The obverse generally shows iconographic or other motifs and the reverse bears a legend, *Śrīvīra* or *Śrīdhara*, in Kannada or Telugu script of about the 17th century A. D. The motifs and the legends are invariably enclosed within a dotted circle. Another interesting feature noticed here is that almost all the coins examined so far are reported to have been obtained from the Districts of Madurai, Trichinopoly and Ramanathapuram which formed the territory of the Nāyak

rulers of Madura (1529-1736 A. D.). It may be mentioned here that a coin which has been described by various scholars like Tracy, Tufnell, Sewell and Elliot as a late Pāṇḍyan issue bears the legend in Tamil script, *Viśwanātha*. This is evidently the name of Viśwanātha whom Kṛishṇa Devarāya had sent to Madura as his Viceroy. Viśwanātha brought to a close the rule of the late Pāṇḍyan dynasty and founded the line of the Nāyaks of Madura. Although this coin has been described by the above scholars as a late Pāṇḍyan coin it may be considered as the earliest Nāyak coin and since then, his successors seem to have continued issuing their own coins, although they were nominally feudatories of the Vijayanagar kings. This practice seems to have prevailed till the end of the Nāyak rule as evidenced by a coin bearing on one side the legend, *Mīnā(kshī)* and on the other, the figure of a lion. The legend in all probability refers to Queen Mīnākshī (1732-36) with whom the Nāyak line of Madura ended. The paleography of the legend and the workmanship of the figure of the lion go to show that this coin was of the late 17th or early 18th century.

A few coins of the group under study have been noticed by Sewell, Tufnell and Elliot. Sewell, in his article on "Some Doubtful Coins of Southern India" in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 32, had thrown out a suggestion that these coins may have been issued by temples in South India as votive offerings and did not consider them as current coins. But from the fabric, metrology, etc., of these pieces, they have to be taken as regular current coins and issued by the Nāyak rulers of Madura. Their enormous number precludes them to have been temple coins. Further the two common legends noticed on them namely, *Śrī-vīra* and *Śrīdhara* may be the titles of the particular kings who issued these coins. In the genealogical list of the Nāyak Dynasty of Madura are noticed one Vīrappa Nāyak and three Muttu Vīrappa Nāyaks. Sewell and Tufnell cite the other legend *Śrīdhara* to support their theory that these are temple coins, *Śrīdhara* being a name of Vishṇu. But they have failed to notice that many coins with the legend *Śrīdhara* that we have now examined, bear on their obverse figures like Umā-maheśvara and Gaṇeśa. Hence in these particular instances, the legend *Śrīdhara* cannot refer to Vishṇu. Thus from a more comprehensive examination of large number of coins of this group, we are led to believe that these pieces might as well have been issued by the Nāyak rulers as current coins.

I shall now describe the three unique coins mentioned by me earlier.

Coin No. 1 :—

Metal	...	...	...	Copper.
Shape	...	...	...	Almost round.
Weight	...	...	...	0.8972 gramme.
Size	...	...	...	1 centimeter.

Obv. Naṭarāja in the Ānanda-tāṇḍava form, enclosed in a circle.

Rev. Legend, *Śrī-vīra*, in a circle.

(Pl. VII. 4)

The figure of Naṭarāja is almost completely preserved, except for the lower part of the right leg and the arm on the left side. The parts must have been there in the die, but while striking the coin they must have gone off the flan. The head of Naṭarāja in sculptural representation shows the peacock's plumes, the *dhatura* flower and the skull On this coin, however, only traces of them are found. The slightly slanting position of the head is characteristic of a typical Naṭarāja image in this mode. The upper right hand holds the *Ḍamaru* and the lower right hand is in the usual *abhaya-hasta* pose. The lower left arm is held in the graceful *gajahasta* pose. What little is seen of the torso shows that the figure has been designed by a deft hand. The most interesting feature of the figure is the manner in which the uplifted left leg is depicted. The angle in which the right leg has been shown in the background, satisfies the requirements and the depiction of the two legs has invested the figure with a graceful poise. In all these details, this figure, though depicted in a miniature form, bears a striking resemblance to the world-renowned Tiruvalangadu Naṭarāja of the Madras Museum.

Coin No. 2 :—

Metal	...	...	...	Copper.
Shape	...	...	...	Round.
Weight	...	...	...	1.086 grammes.
Size	...	...	...	1.1 centimeters.

Obv. Śeshaśāyī, two armed, with head to proper right and with Brahmā shown seated on the lotus emanating from Vishṇu's navel, in a circle, the whole enclosed within a dotted circle.

Rev. *Nāmaṁ* with the Sun and Moon symbols in a circle, the whole within a dotted circle.

(Pl. VII. 5)

The representation on the obverse of Śeshaśāyī is a magnificent one. The most interesting feature is that the figure is two-armed. This is a characteristic which had been in vogue from very early times, the earliest in South India being the one in the Mahishamardinī cave at Mahabalipuram. The serpent Śesha's five hoods can be easily seen above the figure of Vishṇu, and the coil of the serpent is shown as a couch on which Vishṇu is reclining. Another interesting feature is the depiction of Brahmā on the lotus. Owing to the small size of the flan, the particulars of this detail are not distinct, but there are sufficient indications to show that this is present. The depiction of the Śayana form of the deity is reminiscent of earlier representations in sculpture.

Coin No. 3 :—

Metal	...	...	...	Copper.
Shape	...	...	...	Round.
Weight	...	...	...	1.211 grammes.
Size	...	...	...	1 centimeter.

Obv. Two-armed Vishṇu seated in the *mahārāja-līlā* pose with the five hoods of the serpent above his head. This figure is the Vaikuṇṭha-nātha form of Vishṇu.

Rev. Eight-petalled flower design.

(Pl. VII. 6)

Here, too, the figure of Vaikuṇṭha-nātha depicted on the obverse is unique. No such representation in the pose in which this figure has been depicted on this coin is known from South India. The known ones from Nammakkal and Aihole are four-armed. The only comparable representation in sculpture known so far is the one from Sirpur.

A more detailed examination of these late South Indian copper coins will help us to make a comprehensive study of iconographic motifs and correlate them with those in sculpture.

Bibliography

1. R. Sathyanatha Ayyar—*Nayaks of Madura.*
2. R. Sewell—Some Doubtful Copper Coins of Southern India, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 32, page 313.
3. T. H. C. Tufnell—*Hints to Coin-collections in Southern India.*
4. T. Desikachari—*South Indian Coins.*

COUNTERMARKED COINS OF THE SHAHS OF PERSIA

C. H. BIDDULPH

[Plates IV-VI]

In the course of an examination of the countermarks occurring on Suri, Mughal and Sikh coins current in the North-West of India and in Afghanistan and Kashmir certain Persian coins were found which bore similar countermarks. These Persian coins are not included in the two notes which have been prepared as it was thought a separate paper on the subject would be of interest as so little appears to have been published which can help in explaining the necessity for the countermarks.

The results of the earlier enquiries have been embodied in two papers. The first appeared under the title "Countermarked Mughal and Suri Coins", in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol: XXV, Part I, and the second "Countermarked Durrani and Sikh Coins", in Part II of the same volume of the *Journal*.

In the preparation of the two papers an attempt was made to show that many of the countermarks were either Persian in origin, or inspired by considerations of vassalage of the early Mughal and Durrani rulers to the Persian Government of the period. These early rulers were dependent on the Persians for asylum when dispossessed of their territory, and relied on the support afforded to them to consolidate their positions and regain their territory.

Almost all the Persian coins in the British Museum were examined and on many of the coins of the Shahs of Persia countermarks were observed, as mentioned earlier, on the gold, silver and copper coins. While some of the countermarks can be explained as of Persian origin due to considerations which will be dealt with in greater detail later, there are others which must be accounted for as a result of either Mughal or Durrani penetration into Persia, and again, others due probably to pressure exerted by Afghan rulers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when enforcing an extortionate policy of countermarking foreign currency passing through their territory in the course of trade to and from Central Asia, or on silver leaving Persia for India.

Persian silver was in demand in India and this would account for many Persian coins which are found with countermarks. This aspect will also be considered in greater detail later in the note. Suggestions which will be offered to account for countermarks must necessarily be tentative as authentic information is not readily available and literature in which Persian coins have been either catalogued, or described, is not very helpful and invariably merely refers to the fact that certain coins occur with countermarks. The explanation for this lack of information may, in part, be due to the near confusion in the production of the coinage from several provincial mints, as also through the agency of private individuals in the case of the copper currency.

It is clear that coinage in the precious metals only appeared to have been controlled in the time of the Shahs and even this control could not have been effective as almost every provincial city had its mint and this must, and did, result in a multiplication of types, as also in a variation in the purity of the metal used and the weights of individual coins. Furthermore, as each mint issued coins with its own mint name, there would be the difficulty in trading outside the particular provincial boundary without having to pay discount on the coins, due to the quality of the metal, the variation in the weights, or in the date of issue. With copper this difficulty was even greater as mints were not ordinarily under government management, or even control, and the demand was met by the employment of moneyers who were able to manipulate the currency, with, or without, the connivance of minor government officials.

Extracts from H. L. Rabino di Borgomales *Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of Iran* (1500-1941), will be quoted as they confirm some of the previous statements in connection with the currency of the period.

"*Silver. Establishment of a New Mint* :—

About 1863 the Iranian Government bought some machinery in France and engaged three Frenchmen to erect a mint at Tihran. The Chief of the mints, for reasons of his own, put difficulties in the way of the Frenchmen, who left the Iranian Service after three years of forced inactivity. The mint continued in charge of Iranians and the money to be coined in the old primitive manner by the hammer, up to the year 1877, when Bergrath F. Pechan, of the Austrian Mint, arranged the mint establishment at Tihran with modern machinery."

"*Suppression of Provincial Mints* :—

The coinage was then reformed and the provincial mints were suppressed, some of them, however, still coining as late as the end of 1878. Hasan Ali Khan died some years before this; his son Dūst Muhammad Khan, inherited the title of "Assayar of the Empire", but had nothing to do with the mint."

"*Abolition of the farming of the Mint* :—

The farming of the Mint* was only abolished under the reign of Muzaffaru'd-Din-Shah (1896-1907)

Note: *The King of Persia farms out the mint to private persons, who gain most by it and share stakes with the money changers, whom they call 'Sarraf,' who have their shops, or offices, in the 'maidan' and are obliged to bring all foreign money to the public mint which they call 'Serab Khana."

"*Origin of Silver in Circulation under Fath Ali Shah*

Most of the silver in circulation under Fath Ali Shah, says Morier, ("First Journey", p. 238) came originally from a very fine silver mine in Bukhara. There was also a mine in Adharbayjan and another near Shiraz.

Foreign coin also entered Iran from the South, especially through Bundar Abbas. The sum seems to have been fairly large. In 1633, Willaim Gibson reported that the "Mint Houses"" could only be maintained on imported reals.

Olearius (1637-8, 1662.ed ; p. 300) writes—

They (the Iranians) will receive from foreigners no other money than Rix Dollars, or Spanish Ryals, which thay immediately convert into abbasis and gain a fourth part of the money."

"*Excellence of Iranian Coins* :—

According to European travellers, the fineness and weight of the silver currency was very good. Thévenot 1664-7. III. p. 305-306) writes —As the abbasis are the coins that are most current in Persia, it is well to know that they are the best money in the world. They are of very pure silver.....

This high standard was not maintained and we learn from Kaempfer (Fasc : V. p. 53) that in 1684 out of 30,000 'Tumans' deposited at the Treasury, only 300 were found to be in due form.

Herr F. Pechan refers to 'Krans' of Hamadan and Teheran. He also refers to those of other towns and of the capital and states the difference in weights is considerable from a monetary point of view."

"Drainage of coin to India and other parts :—

The Indians (in Persia) systematically took advantage of the differences in weight, or fineness, in the local currency, buying up the better coins and sending them to India. Foreign merchants trading in Iran did much the same thing, but exported mostly in ingots of gold or silver.

The drainage of Iranian coin to India, although numerous edicts were enacted against it (the culprit being liable, at one time, to the death penalty), has gone on regularly since the seventeenth century and even earlier. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of this century, every year, in anticipation of the buying season for wool, silk, gums, etc :, it was necessary to import bar silver into Iran to be minted there. No doubt because of their relatively good fineness and weight, the new 'qirans' found their way to Afghanistan, to Peshawar and other market towns of India and even China, and never returned to Iran, being eventually melted for the value of their metal.

It is evident, therefore, that Iranian coin constituted an acceptable and sound medium of exchange although we are told, at times, that it was only accepted by weight."

"Copper Coinage :—

The copper coinage was, with a few exceptions, autonomous. There is usually on the obverse of what is often a shapeless lump of metal, the figure of an animal, man, or object, and on the reverse the name of the mint and date."

"Changing of Copper Currency :—

Each city had its own particular copper coinage and mark. This was changed every year and was only current when it was coined. On the 'Nauruz' all copper money was cried down in value and thereafter its mark was changed. The Shah made large profits by this means.

The following lines from Father Krusinski (1702-1722. i. p. 89) explain why such an act was worthy of commemoration;–

Though none but the King has the right to coin silver money, the governors of the provinces have a right to coin copper, and this money, which is fixed at a certain value in their province during their term of office there, depreciates to one half of its value when they are displaced, and never goes for any more in the other provinces; so that a piece of copper, which is worth ten pence in the province when the governor with whose stamp it is coined is in power, is worth but five pence in all other provinces of the kingdom and suffers the same abatement in his own too, the moment he gives place to his successor....."

"*Standardization of Copper Currency-Nickel*:—

As recently as 1856, the governor of Rasht made a great deal of money by arbitrarily changing the value of the old copper money of the town almost every month. Shortly afterwards the copper currency of Iran was standardized. Nickel was introduced as a currency in 1901."

"*Confused state of the Copper Currency under Nasiru'd-Din. Law of 1857* —

The copper currency was in a great state of confusion in the time of Nasiru'd-Din, the 'qiran' being exchanged in various provinces for 70, 30 or 20 'shahis'. The law of 1857 had fixed the standard for the copper currency, but as the old currency was not redeemed, the new issue tended to increase instead of decreasing the prevailing confusion."

"*Reform of the Copper Currency in 1875* :—

In 1875, Herr Pechan was entrusted with the reform of the currency, but he no sooner began his work than he was ordered to coin large quantities of copper, and to leave silver minting for a future occasion. Finally the copper currency had to be redeemed in the reign of Muzaffaru'd-Din at anything up to 80 copper 'shahis' a 'qiran' instead of 20, and in 1901 it was replaced by nickel."

Mints referred to by H. L. Rabino as functioning in the period ranging from A. H. 1277-1293 (A. D. 1861-1877) are Herat, Yazd, Rasht, Kirmanshah, Kashan, Shiraz, Tabriz, Teheran, Mazandaram, Mashad, Kirman, Isfahan and Hamadan.

In a list of mints that operated in Persia at various times he includes the names of one hundred and twenty-four that issued coins in gold, silver and copper and it is seen that

sixty-five autonomous mints, producing copper currency functioned in the same period.

In considering the countermarks which are found on coins of the Shahs the enquiry cannot merely be confined to Persia's internal history, or to the expedients which made it necessary to widen the circulation of the provincial currency as this currency must have handicapped internal trade by the very nature of the restrictions imposed and would also have resulted in personal loss, due to the depreciation in value when circulating outside its limits.

Other factors must also have operated, the chief of which would have been the adjoining territory of Afghanistan, from which attacks and counter attacks were made by the various occupying powers into Persian territory. These incidents follow so closely on each other that an attempt will be made to furnish, in chronological order, the main events which may help in a clearer appreciation of the situation. Precise details cannot be furnished in a short paper and the incidents and dates may be accepted as approximately accurate in relation to the many invasions and counter invasions.

The particulars have been extracted mainly from details furnished in the *Gazetteer of India* Volume XIV.

A.H. 910. (A.D. 1504)	—Kabul captured by Babur.
A.H. 918-937 (A.D. 1512-1530)	—Kandahar held by Babur after capture from Timur in A. H. 918.
A.H. 937-1058 (A.D. 1530-1648)	—Kandahar held by the Mughals and Persian Safavids, who captured and recaptured the area at intervals.
A.H. 1058-1120 (A.D. 1648-1708)	—Kandahar held by the Ghilzais, who were under Persian control.
A.H. 1120-1151 (A.D. 1708-1738)	—Ghilzais independent. They defeated the Persians and even entered Persia.
A.H. 1151-1160 (A.D. 1738-1747)	—Kandahar once more under the Persians in the person of Nadir Shah.

A.H. 1160-1234 (A.D. 1747-1818) —Kandahar under Ahmad Shah Durrani, an Afghan, and his successors.

A.H. 1160-1352 (A.H. 1747-1933) —Afghanistan under the Barakzai Wazirs and Amirs.

Countermarks

A brief description of the countermarks found on the coins is considered necessary at this stage and they will be grouped under seven distinct types.

(1) Coins of particular mints bearing countermarks of other towns, with or without dates.

(2) Coins with countermarks with the name of a ruler instead of a town.

(3) A countermark with the word '*San*' and a '*Hijra*' date.

(4) Coins with counrermarks of towns, or with the word '*Rāij*', with or without a date, enclosed in ornamental cartouches.

(5) Coins with countermarks of a small, or large, rising sun, with a face within the large sun.

(6) Coins with the word '*Raij*' only within small incuse cartouches ; usually circular in shape.

(7) Autonomous copper coins with miscellaneous countermarks.

Inscriptions found on countermarks.

A short description of the inscriptions and the manner in which they occur is considered necessary. H. L. Rabino has furnished information that is instructive and it is proposed to include extracts in the note.

The earlier coins have, in addition to the name of the mint at which the countermark was affixed, the words بہ بود '*ba-bod*' and عدل-'*adl*' and this is followed on some coins by the word ضرب '*zarab*.'

The word عدل '*adl*' is sometimes found with the additional words شاہ '*Shah*'—شاهی '*Shahi*' شاهی ضرب '*Shahi-zarab*' and these are followed by the name of the mint

In amplification of the foregoing H. L. Rabino has furnished details of certain countermarks in which the words are used.

They occur on the coins of the Safavids and will be repeated as they are of assistance when attempting to read some of the more difficult countermarks.

Isma'il I. A.H. 907-930 (A.D. 1502-1524)

عدل اردبیل — *Adl Ardabil.*

عدل استرابات — *Adl Astarabad.*

عدل تبریز — *Adl Tabriz.*

عدل شاه — *Adl Shah.*

عدل شاه ضرب مشهد — *Adl Shah Zarab Mashad.*

بهبود اسعد — *Ba-bod* (?).

Muhammad Khudabanda. A.H. 985-994 (A.D. 1578-1585)

شاهی عدل یزد — *Shahi Adl Yazd.*

عدل شاهی یزد — *Adl Shahi Yazd.*

Similar countermarks are found of Ardabil, Irvan and Teheran, but H.L. Rabino does not mention the collections in which he found them.

Abbas. II. A.H. 1052-1077. (A.D. 1642-1667)

رایج — *Raij.*

In addition to the mints mentioned by H.L. Rabino a list of mints and countermarks which are seen on coins in the British Museum Collection is appended.

Safavids. Isma'il. I. A.H. 907-930 (A.D. 1502-1524)

عدل شیراز — *Adl Shiraz.*

عدل شاه ضرب مشهد — *Adl Shah Zarab Meshed.*

به بود مشهد — *Ba-bod Meshed.*

Note: This may be the correct reading of the sixth coin in H.L. Rabino's list and similar to his coin No: 87. referred to in the schedule under Isma'il. I.

عدل شاه مشهد — *Adl Shah Meshed.*

Note: Similar to the fifth coin in H.L. Rabino's list, under Isma'il. I., but without the word *Zarab.*

عدل قندهار — *Adl Kandahar.*

Safavids. Tahmasp. I. A.H. 930-984 (A.D. 1525-1576)

عدل ضرب طهماسپ شاه — *Adl Zarab Tahmasp Shah.*

Afghans. Mahmud. A.H. 1135-1137. (A.D. 1722-1725)

Sun, small. (Pl: × No: 12.)

Sun. large with face in circle. (Pl: × No: 13.)
Note: H.L. Rabino's coin No: 302 is similar to the second coin in the British Museum Collection and is said to be in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Afsharids. Shah Rukh. (Third Reign) A. H. 1168-1210. (A. D. 1755-1796)

رایج ۱۱۹۸ — *Raij* with date 1198.

رایج — *Raij* without date.

Zands. Karim Khan. A.H. 1163-1193. (A,D. 1750-1779)

رایج — *Raij.*

Persian Autonomous Coinage–Copper.

رایج — *Raij,*

عدل کابل — *Adl Kabul*

ضرب کابل / ضرب دنکی / ضرب دنگی — *Zarab Kabul* / *Zarab Dhanki* or *Zarab Dhangi*

Note:—Coin with countermarks on both obverse and reverse. *Dhanki* or *Dhangi* does not appear to be in the list of mints mentioned by H.L. Rabino and must be in Afghanistan.

ضرب هرات / ضرب کابل — *Zarab Herat* (?). / *Zarab Kabul.*

Note:—Coin with two countermarks superimposed; the lower, or earlier one, appears to read *Herat.*

In the earlier paragraphs an attempt has been made to furnish information which would help in an understanding of some of the factors which made it necessary to countermark Persion coins. The information had, necessarily to be brief

and may have appeared sketchy. It has to be borne in mind that the main consideration in this paper is the numismatic interest attached to the countermarks, a subject on which so little appears to have been recorded previously, and only such incidents as seem to furnish clues to the necessity for their use will be stressed. Much of this must be tentative and may not prove to be correct when further research and documentary evidence provide more detailed information. The object of the enquiry, with its suggestions, is to stimulate an interest in the continued study of the subject. Material must be available in manuscripts in Persia which have not yet been considered by scholars. In considering the countermarks it is proposed to follow the order in which the sub-heads have been grouped earlier in the note.

(1). Coins of particular mints bearing countermarks of other towns, with or without dates.

These are perhaps the commonest and it may be assumed such countermarking was an expedient which permitted countermarked coins to have a wider circulation in the interests of inter-provincial trade and it would also minimise loss due to discount to individuals travelling from one province to another.

Coins under this category are Nos: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10 and 11.

Coin No: 3, which is dated A.H. 920, is thought to be an exception and the possibility is it was countermarked by the Mughals at Kandahar, as the town was held by Babur from the year A.H. 915.

(2). Coins with countermarks with the name of a ruler instead of a town.

The practice may have been necessitated by a ruler countermarking his own uncurrent coins of earlier date, or to countermarking the coinage of a vassal who had ceased to be recognised, been killed, or died naturally.

Coins under this category are listed as Nos. 12 and 28. In the case of the gold coin, No: 12, no change of the mint has been made. With No: 28 the ruler's name is repeated on one side, but the mint name has been altered to extend its circulation by including the name Teheran on a coin of Rasht.

(3). A countermark with the word 'San' and a 'Hijra' date.

A coin, No: 58, catalogued by H.L. Rabino in *A Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Iran*, Plate III. It would appear that a coin with an earlier date has been countermarked with a later date thereby permitting its circulation without loss on account of discount. This coin figures as No : 7 in the list at the end of the note.

(4). Coins with countermarks of towns, or with the word 'Raij', with or without a date, enclosed in ornamental cartouches.

A coin with a countermark of this description is No : 13 of Meshed mint of Tahmasp II. A.H. 1135-1149 (A.D. 1722-1731), dated A.H. 1139.

Other coins are Nos : 18 and 20 in the list of Shah Rukh of Meshed mint, with date A.H. 1195, with an ornamental cartouche and was possibly countermarked in the time of Timur Shah.

These coins have cartouches which resemble those that normally occur on coins countermarked by the Durranis.

Reginald Stuart Poole—*Catalogue of Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*, in the introduction, has furnished particulars which describe the situation that existed in the province of Khurasan in the time of the Persian ruler Shah Rukh, A.H. 1161-1210. (A.D. 1748-1796).

Ahmad Shah Durrani defeated Shah Rukh and occupied his capital, Meshed, in the year A. H 1168. On the capture of Meshed Shah Rukh surrendered to Ahmad Shah and was enthroned by him as Shah of Iran, obviously in vassalage to, or under his protection. He was supposed to be Shah of Iran, but was never more than Shah of Khurasan and Persian coinage of an earlier date and coins issued during his vassalage must have circulated not only in Khurasan, but also in Afghanistan after they had been countermarked by the Durranis.

This would explain coins of Tahmasp II. dated A.H. 1139 and of Shah Rukh dated A. H. 1195 and A. H. 1205 with Durrani countermarks of Ahmad Shah and Timur.

(5) Coins with countermarks of a small or large rising sun, with a face within the large sun.

Of the three coins in the tabulated list two are of Isfahan mint and the third, without particulars of the mint, which H. L. Rabino states is in the collection of the Ashmolean at Oxford.

The ruler in whose reign the three coins were issued was Mahmud A.H. 1135-1137 (A.D. 1722-1725.) and he was one of two Afghan rulers who occupied Persia for a period of approximately eight years. Mahmud's coins are dated A. H. 1135 aud 1136. Ashraf, the second ruler, fled on Nadir Shah's troops occupying his capital.

Nadir Shah ruled from A. H. 1148-1160 (A. D. 1736-1747.). It is possible the rising sun countermark was affixed by this Afsharid ruler on Mahmud's coins.

The sun motif, which is of Saljuq origin, was used on Persian coinage from early Safavid times.

(6) Coins with the word 'Raij' only within small incuse cartouches; usually circular in shape.

Similar countermarks have been referred to previously in the *Journal*, Volume XXV, Part I, pp. 43 to 45 and it may be advisable to reconsider some of the possibilities which have been mentioned before attempting to fix on the authority responsible forthem.

After his conquests in Persia in A. H. 1168, Ahmad Shah Durrani placed Shah Rukh in charge of the province of Khurasan in a subordinate position, very probably of vassalage, as referred to in paragraph (4). During this period it is possible the Persian coins, which were in circulation in Afghanistan, were countermarked in order to authorise their circulation and it is possible more than one type of countermark was adopted.

Under item (4) countermarks enclosed in ornamental cartouches were considered, but countermarking may have been carried out at more than one centre and this could explain how these simpler countermarks with the word 'Raij', enclosed within an incuse circle, may also have been the work of the Durranis. It is also possible this simpler type is of later date and was the countermark used in marking the coins of Shah Rukh and Karim Khan in the reign of Timur Shah.

Another possibility is the countermarks may have been affixed as stated in the *Journal*, Volume XXV, Part I, pp. 44

and 45. It is known that traders moved between India and Central Asia and back, and it has also been stated earlier in the note that silver from Persia was brought into India. A substantial revenue would have resulted to the Afghan authority responsible for countermarking the silver coins exported from Persia to India, some of which may have been recoined and the rest converted into ornaments.

Coins with this countermark are included in the list as Nos : 17 and 19, and 21 to 27.

(7) *Autonomous Copper Coins with miscellaneous countermarks.*

These coins have been numbered from 1 to 7 at the end of the tabulated list. Four coins, Nos: 1 and 5 to 7, have ornamental cartouches enclosing the countermarks and it may be suggested they are Durrani in origin. They may also have been affixed by local Afghan rulers to extend the circulation of the coins. It cannot be suggested such countermarking resulted in any material benefit to the authority undertaking the work as only a small charge could have been recoverable by way of a tax, or fee, for carrying out the work. Coin No : 20 and No : 1. are similar and may be classified as autonomous.

I have to acknowledge with thanks the assistance I have received in the preparation of the casts from the Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum and for permission to publish and illustrate coins in the National Collection.

Tabulated List of Persian Coins with Countermarks.

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
SAFAVIDS						
Isma'il. I. A. H. 907-930. (A. D. 1502-1524.)						
1	A.V.	?	922	13.7	*Adl Shiraz*	British Museum. *Catalogue of Coins of the Shahs of Persia* p. 2. No. 2. **(Pl. IV. 1)**
2	A.V.	?	?	11.9	*Adl Tabriz*	*Album of Coins, Medals and Seals of the Shahs of*

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
						Iran" by H. L. Rabino Pl. I. No. 5
3	A.R.	?	920	141.5	*Adl Kandahar*	British Museum. No number ; not catalogued. **(Pl. IV. 2)**
4	A.R.	?	923	58.9	*Adl Asterabad*	British Museum. H. L. Rabino No. 26. **(Pl. IV. 3)**
5	A.R.	Tun	924	77.3	*Adl Shah*..... (Incomplete ; as half off flan)	British Museum. H. L. Rabino No. 42. **(Pl. IV. 4)**
6	A.R.	Sebzwar	927	71.7	*Adl Shah Zarab Meshed*	British Museum. **(Pl. IV. 5)**
7	A.R.	Kashan	?	142.8	*San 928*	H. L. Rabino Pl. III. No. 58.
8	A.R.	?	929	59.2	*Adl Asterabad*	British Museum. **(Pl. IV. 6)**
9	A.R.	?	?	142.7	*Ba-bod. Meshed*	British Museum. H. L. Rabino No. 87. **(Pl. IV. 7)**
10	A.R.	Tabriz	?	65.3	*Adl Shah Meshed*	British Museum. **(Pl. IV. 8)**
11	A.R.	?	?	70.2	??	British Museum. **(Pl. IV. 9)**
Tahmasp. I. A. H. 930-984. (A. D. 1524-1576)						
12	A.V.	?	?	59.5	*Adl Zarab Tahmasp Shah*	Btriish Museum. An earlier coin of Tahmasp, or a vassal, re-issued. **(Pl, IV,10)**

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
Tahmasp. II. A. H. 1135-1144. (A. D. 1722-1731)						
13	A.	R. Meshed	1139	61.6	*Raij*	British Museum. p. 58. No. 169. **(Pl. IV. 11)**
AFGHANS						
Mahmud A. H. 1135-1137. (A. D. 1722-1725)						
14	A.	R. Isfahan	1135	69.5	Sun ; small.	British Museum. p. 65. No. 194. **(Pl. IV. 12)**
15	A.	R. Isfahan	1135	70.0	Sun, large with face in centre.	British Museum. p. 65. No. 195. **(Pl. V. 1)**
16	A.	R. ?	1136	118.8	Rayed sun.	H. L. Rabino, No. 302. Coin in Ashmolean Museum Oxford.
AFSHARIDS						
Shah Rukh. Total reign A. H. 1161-1210 (A. D. 1748-1796) *Third reign A. H. 1168-1210. (A. D. 1755-1796)* *Vassal of Ahmad Shah Durrani.*						
17	A.	R. Ganja	1189	37·5	*Raij*	H. L. Rabino. No.460.Huge and Paris Collections.
18	A.	R. Meshed	1195	170.4	*Raij. 1198.*	British Museum. p. 101. No. 316. **(Pl. V. 2)**
19	A.	R. Meshed	?	17.2	*Raij*	British Museum. p. 101, No. 317, **(Pl. V. 3)**
20	A.	E. Meshed	1205	?	Elephant & rider on obverse, with countermark Raij in an ornamental cartouche.	British Museum. **(Pl. V. 4)**

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
ZANDS						
Karim Khan A.H. 1163-1193. (A.D. 1750-1779).						
21	A.	R. Ganja	1189	44.0	*Raij* in an ornamental cartouche on reverse.	British Museum. Not included in the catalogue. **(Pl. V. 5)**
22	A.	R. Ganja	1189	47.1	*Raij* in lined circle on obverse.	British Museum. No. 385, **(Pl. V. 6)**
23	A.	R. Ganja	1189	47.6	*Raij* in circle on obverse.	British Museum. No. 386. **(Pl. V. 7)**
24	A.	R. Ganja	1190	46.6	*Raij* in circle on reverse.	British Museum. No.397 **(Pl. V. 8)**
25	A.	R. Ganja	1190 written 119.	47.0	*Raij* in circle on reverse.	British Museum. No. 398. **(Pll. V. 9)**
26	A.	R. Ganja	1191 written 1 P 11 or 1 P H	49.6	*Raij* in circle on reverse.	British Museum. No. 401. **(Pl. V. 10)**
27	A.	R. Ganja	1192	46.7	*Raij* in circle on obverse.	British Museum. No. 402. H. L. Rabino. No. 478. **(Pl. V. 11)**
QAJARS						
Fath Ali Shah. A.H. 1211-1250. (A. D. 1797-1834.)						
28	A.	R. Rasht	?	94.2	Countermarked both obverse and reverse. *Zarab Teheran* on obverse and *Fath Ali Shah* on obverse. Both countermarks in lined circles.	H. L. Rabino. No.532. Pl. XXI. From a sale catalogue of Jaques Schulman.
PERSIAN AUTONOMOUS COINAGE.						
1	A.	E. Meshed	1205	...	Elephant & rider *Raij* in an orna-	British Museum Included under

No.	Metal	Mint	Date	Weight Grs.	Countermarks	Remarks.
					mental cartouche on obverse.	Afghan coins. Similar to No. 20 **(Pl. VI. 1)**
2	A.E.	?	?	...	*Adl Kabul* in an incuse lined square.	British Museum. **(Pl. VI. 2)**
3	A.E.	?	?	...	Countermarked on both obverse and reverse. *Zarab Kabul* in a square and on the other side *Zarab Dangi* or *Danki* in a lined cartouche.	British Museum. **(Pl. VI. 3)**
4	A.E.	?	?	...	Two countermarks which overlap. The first, or lower one, may be *Zarab Herat*, in a lined circle. The second is *Zarab Kabul* in an ornamental cartouche.	British Museum. **(Pl. VI. 4)**
					Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the Cabinets of Coins and Medals Paris, Oxford, Brussels, The Hague and Col. R. Burns.—H. L. Rabino.	
5	A.E.	?	?	...	*Raij* in an ornamental cartouche.	Roughly rectangular in shape. Coin defaced. H. L. Rabino. Pl. XIV, No.313.
6	A.E.	?	?	...	Lion to right with *Raij* in an ornamental cartouche.	H. L. Rabino. Pl. XVIII. No. 382.
7	A.E.	?	?	....	*Raij* in an ornamental cartouche.	Roughly rectangular in shape. Coin defaced. H. L. Rabino. Pl. XVIII. No. 388.

COUNTERMARKED SPANISH RIAL

C. H. BIDDULPH

[Plate VI]

Spanish rials were popular as currency in the Eastern and Far-Eastern trade from as early as the sixteenth century and readily accepted in trade along the entire sea-board of the Persian Gulf, India, the Malayan Peninsula and the Dutch settlements in the Java seas.

C. Scholten in *Coins of the Duteh Overseas Territories*, states they were in circulation in the Indies up to the nineteenth century and goes on to inform us, in the same context, that the earliest, or crude type, were called "Real Batu" (stone rial) by the local inhabitants and "Spanish Mat" by the Dutch.

In referring to *The Companies for Distant Trade 1594-1602*, Scholten states that when De Houtman first sailed to the Indies rials were known from the itinerary of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten and this would seem to confirm they were known in the far-east before De Houtman reached the Indies.

The earliest reference to rials in the records of *The English Factories in India* by William Foster is contained in a letter of John Browne of Ahmedabad to the Company written on the 10th February 1618. They figure almost continuously in correspondence from this date to the year 1669 and must have continued in circulation in the later, or pillar dollars, of Mexico, Seville and Peru, for at least another century at the Indian coastal trading establishments.

Their exchange value varied between four shillings and six pence and five shillings and six pence and we find a reference to rials, in the correspondence, being calculated at four shillings and six pence and rated at five shillings when paying wages in the years 1618 to 1621.

In the period 1634 to 1636 a reference is found which mentions old rials and Seville money. The old rials are stated to be of better metal by local traders. The Company also acknowledged, at about the same period, that Seville coins were of better silver and weightier than Peruvian and Mexican rials.

As stated earlier rials were accepted universally on the Indian coast and it is seen from the correspondence of the factors, in the years 1624 to 29, that most of the silver importod for use in the eastern trade was recoined into Rupees or Persian Mahmudis.

In an article entitled "Coins Current in the Kingdom of Golconda", Dr. P. M. Joshi, *JNSI,* Volume V. Part I. 1943, pages 85 to 97, refers to rials, or Spanish dollars, being the commonest silver eoins available in the Kingdom of Golconda in the seventeenth century and that most of them were brought in by European merchants trading on the coast. He also states that Persian 'Abbasis' and 'Mahmudis' were brought into Golconda about the same time and used as currency and that the coins imported by the Dutch were countermarked with the bale marks of the Dutch East India Company. This statement is confirmed by coins which are found with the letters V. O. C., in the form of a monogram, countermarked on them. No mention is made by Dr. Joshi of Dutch, English, or Golconda countermarks, or shroff marks made by bullion dealers, on rials current in the Golconda Kingdom.

This fact may have escaped the attention of the earlier writers as it is known that almost all the rials coming into Persian, Indian, Malayan or Chinese hands were either reconverted into local currency, or melted down and used in manufacturing jewelry. As a result very few countermarked coins could have survived for long and the few that exist today are only mentioned in the sale catalogues, or in the less accessible reference books on the colonial coinage of this period.

The coin with which we are concerned **(Pl. VI. 5),** is one of about twelve which must have formed part of an hoard found in Ceylon, as they all came from a collection made of coins found on the Island. It is of considerable interest as it appears to be the only rial with an Indian countermark so far reported and has a clear date, A. H. 1068 (A. D. 1657/58) and part of an Arabic inscription of which only one word, "Shah", can be seen over the date. One other coin of this hoard has a date, A. D, 1655, and it can be assumed the coins came to India shortly after they were coined as the particular coin to which we refer was countermarked in A. D. 1657/58.

Dr : Joshi's article would tend to localise the countermark, and the date, A. H. 1068 is significant. The ruler Abdulla Kutub Shah of Golconda reigned from A. H. 1035 to 1083 (A. D. 1626-72) and it is probable the countermark, which seems to be more than a shroff mark, was affixed on rials by

some enactment of the Golconda Government, to permit them being used in the territory, or possibly to distinguish the rials of Mexico mint, which were considered superior to Peruvian rials of Lima mint.

The countermark could also have been affixed by the Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur and the date is interesting if the countermarking was done by them as it could equally have been in the closing year of the reign of Muhammad, A. H. 1037-1068, (A.D. 1627-1657), or in the first year of Ali II, A. H. 1068-1083, (A. D. 1657-1672).

It may be thought an Adil Shahi countermark is improbable, but confirmation of the fact that they were interested in and a real menace to the eastern coastal trade in the seventeenth century is found in a reference in "The English Factories in India 1646-1650", an extract from which will be furnished. At this period both Bijapur and Golconda were an inconvenience to the trade and development of the Government in the locality and it is possible that rivalry existed between them in connection with participation in the local trade and that this also had its effect on the activities of the European Companies.

> "———and the body of this kingom (Vijayanagar ?) is harried by two forreigne nations, who lye within two daies journey one of another, with powerful armies, watching all advantage upon each other, yet both strive to make a prey of this miserable and distracted, or divided, people. These are the Gulcandah and Vizapoor (Bijapur) Moores, the latter of which hath brought in 8,000 freebooters, who receave noe pay but plunder what they can; whose incursins, roberies and devastacions hath brought a disolacion on a great part of the country round about, especially the three prime cloth ports, Tevenapatam (Devanampatnam. Fort St : David, Cuddalore). Porto Novo, and Pullacherry (Pondicherry), of which the two last are in a manner ruin'd, and other hardly preseveing itself in a poore condition with continueall presents."

The earlier rials are seldom found with countermarks and in the process of obtaining information which would account for the countermark on the coin in my possession, other countermarked rials were seen; while descriptions of others were found in certain publications and sale catalogues.

Perhaps the commonest, of what must actually be a very rare countermark, is that of the "Golden Fleece" contained within a shield, on Mexican rials which were countermarked

for use in the Low Countries. Four of these coins are in the British Museum collection and another is included in a sale catalogue of March 1960 of Jacques Schulman of Amsterdam. It appears as No : 2062 and is illustrated on Plate 40. These rials would not have come out to the East, but are mentioned in order to make the list as complete as possible.

A rial with a countermark reading جاوه (Java) is referred to by Scholten on page 61, as being in the collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences at Batavia. This coin is also referred to by Sir John Bucknill in *Coins of the Dutch East Indies*, 1931, Page 42. No : 57.

A four rial cob, cut from a Spanish eight rial piece of Ferdinand VI and countermarked with a lion strident to right, within an incuse rectangle, is listed by Hans M.F. Schulman of New York in the catalogue of a sale held in November 1960 of the collection of Howard D. Gibbs. The coin is No : 550 and is illustrated in the sale catalogue. The coin is stated to be of Soumanap, a Sultanat on the Island of Madura on the North-east coast of Java. This attribution does not appear to be correct and the countermark should have been affixed by the Dutch at one of their settlements in the far-east. The reason for making this assertion will become apparent when the next countermarks are considered, as it will be seen that Sumanap had a countermark of its own in Arabic script.

Coin on which these occur are Nos : 943 to 946 in the sale catalogue of November 1960 of Jacques Schulman of Amsterdom. Three are stated to be "Real Batou" and No : 946 an half "Batou." The coins are illustrated on Plate 21 of the sale catalogue and have more than one countermark on each coin. The Countermarks with inscriptions are of considefable interest and read either سمناپ 'Sumanap' or سمناف 'Sumanaf', in Malay Arabic, within rectangular or square incuses.

O. Codrington, *Musalman Numismatics*, page 164, states 'Sumanap' or 'Sumanaf' is in Madura, an island at the north-eastern end of the Island of Java, 7°2'. S. and 113°.45'. E. He mentions the countermark and states it is stamped on some Spanish coins.

No coin countermarked in India, other than the one referred to, is known and the correct attribution will have to await the finding of a coin in which the inscription on the countermark is complete.

MISCELLANEA

1

A RARE SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COIN

[Plate I]

In my small collection of silver punch-marked coins is a slightly worn irregular-shaped thin and broad coin **(Pl. I. 1 & 2)**, 1.05″ × .8″ in size and 3.1500 grammes (46.61 grains) in weight. It is interesting for two reasons :

(i) It is a double-obversed coin *i. e.* it bears a group of five symbols on both the sides. One of the sides **(Pl. I. 1)** is fresh in look and the symbols are quite clear for the identification. The other side **(Pl. I. 2)** is worn and not all the five symbols are visible or identifiable. This means that an original coin, with the group of five symbols, was restruck after being in circulation for some time ; and at the time of re-striking, the new symbol-group was struck on the original reverse and original obverse was then treated as reverse. Such double-obverse coins, though are not unknown, are only few so far published. And those that are published have not as yet been fully described and properly studied. So, the publication of the present coin might serve as a record for the scholars who may take up the study of this aspect of the punch-marked coins.

(ii) The later obverse symbol-group belongs to a rare variety of which only three coins are so far published. Dr. P. L. Gupta has noticed a coin of this variety in the Amaravati hoard and described it as variety IV. VI. 1.[1] He has also identified two other coins of this variety in the Big Bhir Mound hoard.[2] They were, though published by Walsh in his *Memoir* were not properly described and their symbol-group was not identified.

The coin may be described as follows :

The group of five symbols on the later obverse is as follows :



1. *Amaravati Hoard of Silver Punch-marked Coins* (Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series No. 6), p. 61.
2. *Ibid.*

(i) Sun (Amaravati symbol No. 1) on the lower left corner ; (ii) six-armed symbol, (showing only an arrow and an oval with dot on its one side and part of another oval with dot on the other side), just above symbol No. (i). The complete symbol probably consisted of three arrows and three taurines alternately placed (Amaravati symbol No. 30 ; (iii) Six-arched hill with a taurine in between the upper two arches (Amaravati symbol No. 106) ; (iv) Five-pronged leafy branch of tree with dots between the branches (Amaravati symbol No. 179) ; (v) A long beetle with two-pronged head and tail and six vertical lines on each side, meant for legs (Amaravati symbol No. 214). Only part of the symbol is impressed on the coin.

Of the five symbols of the older obverse group, only three are visible. They are as follows :



1 (Nil) 214

(i) Sun (Amaravati symbol No. 1) (in the middle of the right edge ; (ii) six-armed symbol (to the left of symbol (i) but not clear. Only three arms are visible ; one of them appears to be oval with dot ; on its either side are two other arms, which may be arrows, but what exists on the coin is more like a minute solid pentagon than a pointed arrow ; (v) Same as symbol (v) of the later obverse, described above. The other two symbols (iii) and (iv) of the group are not visible.

Besides the obverse symbols, both sides have a few small or minute symbols, which may be the reverse marks. On the later obverse side are three such marks. One of them is neatly punched and appears to be a flower bud. The other two have only faint traces On the older obverse side also are three marks. Two of them are jumbled together and cannot be made out. The third is a star of 8 rays.

N. MUKUNDA ROW

2

PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM NEVARI, UMRER ; DIST : NAGPUR

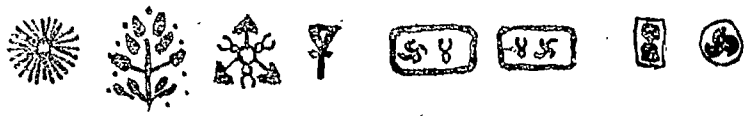
[Plate I]

Nevari is a small village about six miles east of Kuhi, a railway station on the Nagpur-Umrer section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway ; and lies about 28 miles due S. E. of Nagpur.

This village is situated on a high eminence, probably on the ruins of an old township and a small un-named nullah flows close to the village. In 1952-53, a very large hoard of punch-marked silver coins was accidently exposed near the village due to heavy floods. The coins, weighing over 3-4 seers in weight, were kept in an earthen pot. Several of these were distributed and melted away before they could be acquired for study. Five coins from this lot reached the hands of Shri K. K. Pant, of the Government Handicraft Emporium, Nagpur, who brought them to me for identification. I publish them here with his permission and in view of the new find-spot thus known.

The coins are of pure silver. They are rectangular in shape and their sides show marks of having been cut to shape by means of a sharp instrument **(Pl. I. 3-7).** A transverse line caused by the chisel in so doing is seen on the reverse of **Pl. I. 4.**

The obverse and the reverse marks on the coins are as follows :



1 2 3 4 5a 5b 6 7

Obverse

(1) The solar symbol represented by radiating rays.

(2) A Branched Tree.

(3) A *Shadara Chakra* with three orbs surmounted by umbrellas and the rest three with Taurine symbols. One coin shows the central hub also which consisted of a pellet.

(4) Crudely formed Triangle-headed banner (*Vaijayanti*).

(5) A rectangular tank enclosing the Taurine symbol and a *Swastika*, either to its right or left.

Reverse

(6) Two rectangles joined together like a dumbbell, roughly outlined by a similarly shaped incuse.

(7) Tresceles in a circular incuse.

The weight of these coins varies from 3·032 grammes to 3·630 grammes, with the following particulars :

1. 3·230 grammes. Size 2 cms. X 1·4 cms. This coin is large in size than rest of the specimens. **(Pl. I. 3)**
2. 3·630 grammes. Size 1·5 cms X 1·4 cms. This coin has a chisel mark on the reverse. **(Pl, I. 4)**
3. 3·032 grammes. Size 1·5 cms X 1·2 cms. **(Pl. I, 5)**
4. 3·320 grammes. Size 1·4 cms X 1·2 cms. **(Pl. I. 6)**
5. 3.380 grammes. Size 1·5 cms X 1·4 cms. **(Pl. I. 7)**

These coins thus belong to Class II, Group XI, Variety C, according to Allan's classification[1] of Punch-marked coins. They are similar to Durga Prasad's[2] Serial No. 85, Class A_1 ; and Serial No. 142, Class 38 A_2, both the specimens being from Hinghanghat, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum.[3]

The findspot of these coins is noteworthy. They come from the Umrer Tahsil of the Nagpur District. It is for the second time that this Tahsil has yielded punch-marked silver coins. The earlier hoard came from a village called Sālebhaṭṭi, near Besur, situated on the confluence of the river Nānda and the Kāshi-nālā, being about 12 miles S.S.w. of Umrer. Shri Balchandra Jain has mentioned this hoard in the *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. V, published by the Numismatic Society of India. The hoard consisted of 138 coins of which 45 only reached the Nagpur Museum and the coins are said to belong to *BMC* Classes 2 and 6. The entire hoard is not yet published. The present lot of five coins from Nevari also belongs to Class 2, Group XI and is very interesting for the 5th symbol (Text fig. No. 5) on the obverse which occurs on some other punch-marked coins as well found in the Vidarbha region, where Class 2, Group XI type coins seem to be fairly common.

Allan[4] has published one coin from Hinghanghat, dist: Wardha, which he identified as belonging to Class 2, Group XI, Variety C. In this coin the 'fifth' symbol is illustrated by him as "twin fishes to r. in a rectangular pond" and is bracketed with a question mark. The authorities of the Nagpur Museum

1. Allan, *BMC, Ancient India*, p. 56 ; Pl. VI, 22.
2. Durga Prasad. *JPASB*, XXX, 1934, *Numismatic Supplement*, Pl. 16 and Pl. 21.
3. Shri. V. P. Rode, of the Nagpur Museum, informs me that the details and the illustrations from the Nagpur Museum coins by Durga Prasad are in respect of the Hinghanghat hoard of 1924. Only Two coins from that hoard are included in Allan's *Cataloque*.
4. Allan, *BMC, AI.*, Pl. VI, 22.

tell us that this symbol is undoubtedly similar to symbol 5 from the Nevari hoard. Some coins from the Hinghanghat hoard were also studied by Durga Prasad[1], which he included in *op. cit*, as Class 38 A_1; but in doing so he identified the 'fifth' symbol as a '*Swastika* in a square border' which he illustrated as such. But this partial mistake was corrected by Shri. Jain,[2] *op. cit.*, p. 3; and Pl. II, 28, 29 and who further stated that this symbol was a combination of the *Swastika* (to left) and the Taurine symbol (to right) within a rectangular (not square as stated by Jain)[3] border.

While illustrating the Mangrul hoard[4] of punch-marked coins, Dr. Parameshwari Lal Gupta identified the symbols correctly but in illustrating them he committed the error of placing the symbol in a vertical way. The symbol in order to be read correctly must have the lower orb of the Taurine towards the base and not to left as has been done by him in symbol 4 in his text illustration on page 113 in his paper in *JNSI*, Vol. XIX. This article puts forth an interesting suggestion that the grouping of the 5 symbols on the obverse and 2 reverse symbols as illustrated on our text figure on p. 92 seems to be of a local nature and was confined to some parts of the Deccan. While the Nevari coins support the contention[5] of Dr. Parameshwari Lal as above indicated, a close study of the coins illustrated as No. 5, 6 and 7 on Plate I would prove that in determining the exact character of the 'fifth' symbol i. e. the Taurine and the *Swastika* in a recangular tank there are two important variations. In one the Taurine stands to the right of the *Swastika* and in the second variety the Taurine appears to the left of the *Swastika*.

Another interesting point which deserves notice in connection with the reverse symbols on the Nevari coins is their size. It will be observed that the Tresceles and the *Damaru*-like symbols do not retain the same shape in all these. The circular incuse of the tresceles is sometimes a very large circle, while in some places it is very minute. The outline of the *Damaru*-shaped conjunct squares also varies from specimen to specimen. It will thus be apparent that different punches embodying the same symbols were used while striking them.

1. Durga Prasad, *op. cit.*, pl. 16 and 21.
2. Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 3; pl. II, 28, 29.
3. Jain has illustrated this newly identified symbol while discussing the Mangrul hoard.
4. Gupta, P. L., "Some Interesting silver Punch-marked coins from Madhya Pradesh" (No. III. Local Kārshāpaṇa coins from Mangrul), *JNSI*, XIX, pl. II, pp. 112-114.
5. *Ibid*, p. 114.

The photographs of the Nevari coins published herewith were kindly taken by my research student Shri Y. Gopal Reddy, M. A.

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT

3

A NOTE ON SOME COINS IN THE ALLAHABAD MUSEUM

Professor K. D. Bajpai in his article 'A note on some coins and a seal in the Allahabad Museum,'[1] has doubted certain views expressed regarding some copper coins published earlier by me[2] and S. C. Kala[3] in this *Journal*. He disagrees with me chiefly on coin Nos. 1, 3 and 5 with my readings (1) *Hathiparasa* (2) *Malaya Kanam* and (3) *Samu* (*Gupta ?*) and Nos. 2 and 3 of Kala's article with the legends (4) *Kasavi* and (5) *Kasabiya* respectively. So far as his reading *Kaśabikanaṁ* of my coin No. 3 and *Kasabi* of Kala's coin No. 2 is concerned Bajpai is quite correct. But we do not agree regarding the reading and attribution of the remaining coins.

Bajpai assigns coin No. 1 of my article with the legend *Hathiparasa* to Kauśāmbi by presuming without any basis the existence of a bull on its reverse and the presence of Ujjain symbol, ignoring the pole-topped with a fish inside a railing, completely. On the other hand he points out that a similar symbol was found on some Taxila[4] coins. By this statement he contradicts his own view. If its similarity with like Taxila symbol is accepted, this coin may also be attributed to Taxila, which is not correct. Whatever be its actual provenance, I feel that this coin did not originate at Kauśāmbī, because the group of symbols found on this piece has not been noticed earlier on Kauśāmbī coins. However, no definite conclusion about the origin of a coin could be proposed on the basis of only one symbol.

He assigns the coin to *c.* 100 B.C. Bajpai has earlier published three coins of Vangapāla[5] and assigned them to early 2nd cent. B. C. The letters occurring in the legend of those coins and in the present one appear to be of the same period. Brāhmī letters *pa* and *sa* in both the legends are of the same type. Remaining letters of the legend, however,

1. *JNSI*, XXV, I, pp. 99-101.
2. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 20-23, pl. II. 1-7.
3. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 139-140 pl. II. 9-10.
4. Footnote No. 2, *JNSI*, XXV, I, pp. 99.
5. *JNSI*, XXIV. pp. 10 ff., Pl. 1 (2-3 and 4).

appear to be chronologically earlier forms, if compared with the alphabets found on different inscriptions of Asoka[1]. All the letters of our coin are in complete similarity with the Aśokan script. And on the basis of this evidence, this coin may be placed in the third century B.C. or early 2nd cent. B. C. and not later than the latter date.

No one denies that the capital of Southern Pāñchāla was Kāmpilya and not Hastinapur. Taking the legend as *Hathipalasa*, as the name of a ruler, Bajpai says "sometimes the left curve in the case of Brāhmī *la* in the Śunga script is not prominent enough to distinguish. See for example some coins of the Pañchāla King Vaṅgapala[2]". But this is not correct. And as the legend on the coins of Vaṅgapala[3] in the photographs is illegible one cannot be sure of the said observation. However, I have examined the coins in original in the possession of Shri Janeshwar Das, which do not show a *la* in which the 'left curve is not prominent to distinguish'. A coin of Vaṅgapāla is deposited also in the Allahabad Museum which is similar to the coins of Shri Das. Further there is no such curvature towards the left in the so called *la* on our coin. The letter concerned is a simple *ra* as found in several epigraphic records as referred earlier in this note. Therefore, his contention, that the legend does not indicate a place-name falls to the ground. There is a place named Hathiāparās in the Gorakhpur District. This is the place of origin of a branch of Saryūpārīṇa Brāhmaṇas popularly known as the Tiwārīs of Hathiāparās. I find practically no difference between these two names e. g. Hathiāparās and *Hathiparasa* of our coin. Both of them could be held as the corrupt forms of *Hasṭipurasya*. Though they could not be identified yet the identity of their name suggests the possibility of the legend to be a place-name. Every alphabet of the legend is quite legible and there is no room for any restoration. Therefore, the correct reading of the legend is *Hathiparasa* and not *Hathipalasa*. As regards coin no. 5 of Samudragupta in my article, Bajpai holds that that Gupta king did not issue a copper currency. But, we think there is no surprise in the domain of archaeology. This coin may be the only known copper specimen of that King. Instances are not lacking where a single specimen of certain currency of a ruler is so far known.[4] Hence, the issuing of

1. See Ojha, *Bhārtīya Prāchīn Lipimālā*, *Lipi* patra I for ह, प, र and स Lipipatra II for थि in अनुसंथिया in the third line from below.
2. *JNSI*, XXV, I, pp. 100. foot note No. 1.
3. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 10 ff., Pl. 1 (2, 3 and 4).
4. See the coin of Shrī Nandi in my article *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 22.

copper coins by Samudragupta could not be ruled out. Bajpai himself admits that local traditions have played considerable role in Indian History even in the field of numismatics. It is but in the fitness of things that Rāmagupta should have issued his coins in close imitation of the fabric and type of the coins of his predecessors current in the area.[1] Could it not be applied in the case of Samudragupta too ? Why he has been made an exception to this rule ? Bajpai' reading of the legend as *Supriyasa* does not appear to be correct. The first word read by him as *su* has no medial sign of *u* in *sa*. To indicate it as *su* the right vertical should be elongated downwards. Due to absence of this sign it should be read as *sa* and not as *su*. The second letter of the legend is read by him as *pri* which I read as *mu* because several instances of *ma* of the same type have come to my notice in the gold coins of Samudra Gupta himself[2]. As regards the sign of medial *u* in *mu* with a curve elongated to left, is also not an impossibility. Such forms of this sign have been noticed in the Gupta script[3]. It might also be due to the paucity of space below. Further the reading of *yasa* is very difficult to accept because of the lack of any trace of these letters. They show a great resemblance to *ga* and *pa*. If they are not *ga* and *pa* they might be held as some symbols but not as *ya* and *sa*. I find five alphabets in the legend whereas Bajpai sees only four. The fifth letter read by me as *da* lies on the extreme right border of the coin. He does not give any specific account for its deletion. In the light of the above discussion the reading of the legend as *Supriyasa* appears to be quite imaginary.

As regards coin no. 3 of Kala's article[4] I differ from Bajpai's proposition in its reading. He reads the legend as *Kosaviśa*. There occurs simply a *ka* without the medial sign *o* on the top left corner of the coin. On the top right is *sa*. On the lower right corner is *bi* and not *vi*. The fourth letter, occurring on the lower left corner, is a bit confusing. It can be read as *śa* or as *ya* when read from different angles. But I see greater possibility of its being *Ya* because the occurrence of *Śa* at the end of this legend makes no sense. Had *śa* been in place of *sa* and vice versa it would have made some

1. *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 342.
2. Allan, *Catalogue of coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, Pl. I (1, 2, 3, 4), pl. IV (2, 7), and also C. S. Upasaka, *JNSI*, XXIII, p. 233.
3. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Pl. XLV line 29. कु or कुमारदेव्यां and also कु in *prāchīn lipimālā*, Ojha, Lipipatra-16, line 4th alphabet no. 10 from the left.
4. *JNSI*, XXIV, pp. 139-140 Pl. II. 9-10,

sense as found in the legend कशबिकनं[1]. But it would be a wrong use of *śa* at the end of this legend. If this letter is *ya* it will read *Kasabiya*, meaning 'of Kauśāmbī', as it is meant by Ātimīya, Bhārtīya, Prādeśīya etc. and other words formed with the addition of suffix ईय at the end. Legends ending in *ya* have been noticed in Ujjain coins bearing उजेनीयि or उजेनीय[2]. Therefore, there is no difficulty in accepting the legend as कसबिय or कसबीय.

R.R. TRIPATHI

4

A NEW SILVER COIN OF YAJÑA ŚRĪ SĀTAKARṆI

[Plate I]

During my recent visit to Paithan Shri Balasaheb Patil a keen and enthusiastic lover of antiquities from that ancient town, showed me a silver coin of Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi, in his possession.

The coin was lying with him for a considerable time. He had sent the coin for chemical wash to the Government Epigraphist of India, Ootakmand who was kind enough to send him a plaster impression of the coin after cleaning it.

In the normal course Shri Balasaheb Patil should have the privilege to deal with this coin, as it was his own find. But knowing my interest in the subject he ungrudgingly placed the coin at my disposal for the decipherment of the legend, and its editing. I am obliged to him for this favour.

This coin from Paithan is the ninth silver coin of the Sātavāhana rulers discovered so far. Out of the eight silver coins found earlier, five were issued by Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi.

Following is the description of the Paithan silver coin :—

Silver, round, 0.6 inch ; weight 2.25 gm, Findspot—Paithan.

(Pl. I. 8)

Obverse : Bust of king to right ; legend in Brahmi characters. *Rañño Gotamiputasa Siri Yaña Satakanisa.*

Reverse : Ujjain symbol surmounted with a crescent, six arched crescented hill to right, river below, sun above. Legend in Brahmi characters. *Siri Yaña Hātakanisa.*

1. *JNSI*, XXV, I, p. 20 Pl. 1-2.
2. Allan, *BMC, AI*, Pl. XXVII. 14, 15, and 16.

The Sātavāhanas isssued coins mainly in copper, lead and potin. Silver coins were issued late in their reign and were struck only by four rulers-Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Yajña Śrī Satakarṇi.

Out of the eight silver coins[1] except the restruck silver of Gautamīputra, found earlier, five were issued by Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi. The ninth silver coin now discovered at Paithan is thus the sixth silver coin of this king.

The profile on the obverse of this coin is interesting in many respects. The portrait[2] reveals the king in his prime youth. As compared to the profile on the silver coin from Gujarat, the king shown here is young and energetic. The portrait speaks well of the merit of the artist in skillful designing and naturalist drawing. It obviously suggests Kshatrapa influence. Further, this new coin from Paithan shows that Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi was firmly saddled in power at Paithan the ancient capital of his predecessors. Probably it also speaks of the prosperity of his kingdom which necessitated the issue of a silver currency.

P. V. RANADE.

5

KUSHĀṆA COPPER COINS

During the last rainy season quite a big and interesting hoard of Kushan copper coins was found in the Patiala District of the Punjab. The hoard contained well over five hundred large-size copper coins of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka. A large number of these coins were very rusty and the legend on them was not clear and on some of them it had quite disappeared; while the partraits of kings and deities were partly visible. Luckily about two hundred coins of this hoard were in fairly good condition. Half of these coins were purchased by two coin dealer's of Delhi, while a hundred coins in fairly good condition were acquired by me for the Cabinet of the Rao Harnarain Singh Dhan Singh Collection of Antiquities.

On examination it was found that on coins of Vima Kadphises there existed, the usual standing portrait of the

1. Rapson, *BMC, AWK*, pp. Lxxxix-xci, 45, Pl. VII. El. 178, JB; Bhandarkar, *ASI, AR*, 1913-14, p. 208; Chinmulgund, *JNSI*, IX, p. 93ff, X, 22ff; Katare, *JNSI*, XII, pt. II, pp. 126-136; XIII, pt. I, pp. 46-52; Trivedi, XIV, pt. I, pp. 1-4.
2. Cf. Sohoni, 'Notes on Sātavāhana bust coinage,' *JNSI*, XVII, pp. 100-103.

king on obverse and Śiva and Bull on the reverse. The wt. of the twenty one coins varied from 250 grs. to 265 grs.

The Coins of Kanishka have a standing king on obverse as usual, while on the reverse there is an extensive gallary of deities except the very rare Buddha. Probably the Buddha Coin of Kanishka was struck for the eastern extremity of his Empire and the Gandhara province, where the Budhistic Cult was rather more popular and acceptable than in this part of the Madhyadesha where our present hoard was discovered. From times of the immigration of the Aryans, during the classical period and even under Asoka, Kanishka and Harśa Vardhan brahmanical influence predominated here i.e. between the Ravi and the Jumna tract. This is also borne out by the discovery of a good many stone images of Hindu gods and goddesses from this region.

The deities found on Kanishka's copper coins under reference are OAΔO, OHPO. MIIPO, MIPO, MAO, NANA and AθPO. OHPO is both four-armed and two armed. The weights of the Kanishka coins varies from 250 grains to 270 grains (only one coin weighing 270 grains). The size of these coins varies from .9″ to 1.05″.

The composition and condition of the hoard under reference points that these coins had, probably, been buried towards the end of Kanishka's reign i.e. sometime before 150 A.D., as the hoard does not contain even a single coin of the post-Kanishka period.

These coins had been sold to a dealer of Patiala about three months ago. It is a pity that the exact site of this important find could not be known. The dealer unfortunately kept no record of the deal, the seller and his whereabouts, perhaps for fear of the wrong impression of the Treasure Trove Act. there is a general impression among the people that Treasure Troves are confiscated by the Govt. and the owner or the discoveror are imprisoned. This impression has unfortunately led to the loss of many a valuable 'historic coin hoard which are often discovered all over the country. The coins are often melted and information is supressed and thus our heritage is lost to the country and history. The only remedy is that the Union Govt. and the State Govts. should make it widely known to the people that if need be only a part or whole of the hoard under Treasure Trove would be purchased by the Govt. on full payment of the metallic value. Thus something must be done to allay fear in this direction.

UTTAM SINGH RAO.

6

COINS IN KĀLIDĀSA'S MĀLAVIKĀGNIMITRAṀ

Kālidāsa is silent about the nature of currency or monetary transactions of his time. This is natural, since such topics do not form a part of the beauties of nature or the feelings of human mind, with which a poet is primarily concerned, and specially in ancient India, where there were set rules about the theme of expression (*rasa*) on which a poem was to be based. Incidentally, however, while describing the activities of a ruler's life, Kālidāsa, in one of his notable works makes mention of certain monetary gifts. To a student of ancient Indian numismatics, the reference is not bereft of significance.

In the beginning of act V of the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*, there is an interesting discourse between Udyānapālikā and Sārasaka. Thus Udyānapālika says, "Sārasaka, where are you about to go ?"

Sārasaka replies, "Madhukārikā, daily *dakshiṇā* has to be given to Brāhmaṇas versed in the vedic lore. To give that in the hand of the respected family priest."

Then Madhukārikā asks, "For what reason ?"

Sārasaka says, "Even since the queen heard that Prince Vasumitra was appointed by Senāpati (Puṣhyamitra) to guard the sacrificial horse, she is bestowing *dakshiṇā* amounting to eighteen gold coins to those worthy of it, in order to secure for him long life. (*Tasyāurnimittaṁ ashṭādaśa suvarṇa parimāṇāṁ dakshiṇāṁ devī dakshiṇīyath parigrāhayati*).

The word *suvarṇa* referred to above evidently stands for gold coin and it has been translated as such. About the antiquity of gold coins in India, there are widely divergent views. But if the evidence of archaeology is of any consequence, it will have to be admitted that the earliest monetary issues of gold go back to the days of Kushāṇa king Kadphises II and not to a period earlier than that.* No coin, which can be definitely shown to be earlier than that of the Kushāṇas has so far been discovered. While stratigraphic evidence of Indian excavations assigns earliest gold coins to Kushāṇa levels, the earliest epigraphic reference to gold coins comes only from inscriptions

*This statement of the author is not correct. Chronologically, the earliest known gold coins were issued by the Indo-Greeks. Among them, Diodotus I and II, Euthedemus I, Eucratides I, and Menander are known to have issued gold coins, and if the former three are taken as the kings of Bactria, not of India proper, at least Eucratides I and Menander must be accepted as Indian kings i.e., kings ruling over Indian territory.

—[*Editor*]

of the post-Kushāṇa period. In the presence of such positive evidence about the period of prevalence of gold coins, doubtful references to gold coins in religious and semi-religious texts of earlier periods—in works that could have been subjected to enormous changes and interpolations in course of times, need not be taken too seriously.

If gold coins were not in circulation in a period earlier than that of the Kushāṇas, Pushyamitra Śuṅga or his son could not have witnessed the use of gold coins,[1] as referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ*. Unless it is accepted that the term *suvarṇa* mentioned by Kālidāsa stands merely for a piece of gold and not for coin—a conclusion that neither receives support from the context nor makes much sense—or that the use of gold coins mentioned by him is only a poetic imagination and has nothing to do with reality, it will ultimately follow that Kālidāsa was aware of the use of gold coins for gifts and hence eventually for commercial transactions. Such a practice, historically speaking, could be possible only in the Kushāṇa or Gupta period. To take the indulgence of a further deduction, the reference of the use of gold coins in the *Mālavikāgnimitraṁ* tends to show that Kālidāsa could not be a contemporary of Agnimitra, as advocated by a strong group of scholars, but that he flourished in a later period, anywhere in between the date of Kadphises II and Pulakeśin II.

S. C. RAY

7

SIṀHAVĀHINĪ LAKSHMĪ

Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu and the goddess of wealth and prosperity, has always occupied an important place in our religion and art. The iconographic texts usually describe her as *padma-hastā* and *padmāsanā*,[2] in contrast to the goddess Durgā who is provided with a lion for her *vāhana*. Consequently, we are intrigued to notice on the reverse of certain Gupta coins a

1. A rectangular gold plated copper coin (plated on one side only) with one letter on the gilt side was discovered at the ancient University of Nālandā. In the opinion of the officer in charge of the site, it was a coin issued by Senāpati Pushyamitra Śuṅga for distribution to the Buddhist monks during the performance of an *Aśvamedha* ceremony, *AR, ASI*, 1930-34, part II, p. 280. But the supposition is wholly unwarranted. A depth of 9′ 2″ below the *chaitya* site No. 12 at Nālandā where the coin was found, does not at all contain occupational deposits of the 2nd century B. C., nor Pushyamitra Śuṅga is known to have had any association with Nālandā. It is also difficult to accept the presumption that Buddhists could take part in an *Aśvamedha* sacrifice which had much of *hiṁsā* attached to it and that the Brahmins would tolerate the participation of Buddhist monks in their own rituals.

2. Cf. *Aṁśumadbhedāgama :* लक्ष्मीः पद्मासनासीना अम्बुजं दक्षिणौ हस्ते



Siṁhavāhinī Gaja-Lakshmī
from Viśwanātha Temple, Khajuraho



Siṁhavāhinī Lakshmī
from Khajuraho Museum

goddess holding lotus in her hands, but riding a lion.[1] She has not been identified with certainty and the numismatists have usually described her as 'Lakshmī or Ambikā'.[2]

There is the same uncertainty about a coin type of Azes I. Whitehead describes its obverse as 'Goddess Lakshmī standing to front with flower in raised right hand'.[3] Gardner is not so sure. According to him, we have on the obverse 'a female deity facing, clad in himation, holds in raised right hand flower, stands on lotus ; besides lion (?). (Lakshmī ?).[4] Coomarswamy identifies her with Lakshmī,[5] but J. N. Banerjea believes that she is Durgā. The latter writes, 'the forepart of the lion is recognizable, and this makes it highly probable that we find here a representation of Durgā Simhavāhinī'. He does concede that 'the lotus at her feet and the same flower in her raised right hand would indicate the possibility of her being Lakshmī', but on the strength of *Brihatsaṁhitā* and other texts he feels disposed to identify her with Durgā.[6]

Hemādri has, however, referred to a type of Lakshmī that has lion for her *vāhana*. Bhattacharya, who drew our attention to this important reference, was not aware of any iconographic representation of this type, and he states that 'no image of this description has yet come down to us'.[7] Two years ago, we happened to notice an interesting image of Simhavāhinī Gaja-Lakshmī at Khajuraho. It is located in a niche in the basement of the north-eastern corner shrine of the Viśvanātha Temple (see attached plate). The goddess is seated on a high pedestal in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*, with the right leg hanging down and the left folded up. She has four hands. The lower right hand is in *abhaya mudrā* and carries an *akshamālā*, while the lower left holds an *amṛitaghaṭa*. Both the upper hands carry lotus stalks. Two elephants, one on either side of the goddess, are performing the ceremonial *abhisheka*, with upturned jars held by their trunks. The figure of a couchant lion is noticed below the *āsana*.[8]

1. Viz., the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type of Chandragupta I and the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II.
2. Cf. Allan, J., *Catalogue of Gupta Coins in British Museum*, pp. LXXII-III ; LXXXIII.
3. Whitehead, R. B., *Punjab Museum Catalogue of Coins*, vol. I. p. 129, No. 30 ; pl. XII, No. 308.
4. Gardner, P., *British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of India*, p. 85 ; pl. XIX. He writes 'It is probable that the goddess...is either Pārvatī...or Lakshmī' (p. LIX).
5. Coomaraswamy, A., Early Indian Iconography (*Eastern Art*, vol. I, p. 178).
6. Banerjea, J. N., *Development of Hindu Iconography* (I edn.) pp. 134-5.
7. Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian Images*, Part I, p. 37.
8. I late I. Cf. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*. XXIII Session, 3;

Subsequently, more images of this variety came to our notice from the same site. One of them is preserved in the local museum, No. 817 (see attached plate). It depicts the goddess as standing in *samabhaṅga* pose, with the usual dress and ornaments. She, too, has four hands. The two upper hands grasp lotus stalks, while the lower right and left hands are shown respectively, in *varadamudrā* and as holding the flask. The elephants giving her the bath are sculptured at the top—standing on conventional lotus leaves. Lower down, on each side of the goddess, we have a female *chāmaradhāriṇī*, and by her side a lion, seated facing each other.[1]

There is possibly a still more interesting panel inside the *mahāmaṇḍapa* of the Kaṇḍariyā Temple. It depicts the god as seated on a plain round seat, with his consort sitting on his thigh. The right leg of the male deity and the left one of the goddess are hanging down—the latter resting on the back of a lion. The head and the right hands of the male deity are broken. With the lower left hand he is embracing the *devī*, and with the upper hand he is holding a *chakra*. The presence of this *āyudha* may suggest that here we have a representation of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa.

The depiction of elephants performing the *abhisheka* in the first two cases and that of *chakra* in the third leads us to conclude that all the three images described above are those of Lakshmī, and these examples should solve the problem of the identity of the goddess on the coins referred to above. D. N. Shukla designates the type as 'Śaivī Lakshmī'—to distinguish her from 'Vaishṇavī Lakshmī',[2] but he has not cited any authority for this nomenclature. Moreover, the third image described above proves her association with Vishṇu himself.

R. K. DIKSHIT

8

A DATED SILVER COIN OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I IN WATSON MUSEUM, RAJKOT

[Plate I]

Watson Museum, Rajkot (Gujarat state), has a rich collection of ancient coins. I have found the coin discussed in this paper while preparing an exhaustive catalogue of the Gupta silver coins of this Museum. These silver coins belong to the Gupta silver coinage of the western provinces and represent a number of types and varieties. The coin under discussion is a unique one in this collection.

1. Plate II.
2. Shukla, D. N., *Hindu Canons of Iconography and Painting*, p. 311.

The original find-spot of the coin is not recorded. A hoard of about 470 Gupta silver coins was received from Paliād in Bhāvanagar District. Presumably this coin hailed from this or some other part of Saurāshṭra.

The present coin resembles the other known Gupta coins of western India. It measures 1.49 cms. (0.35 inches) in diameter and weighs 1.94 grammes (30 grains).

It is described as follows :

(Pl. I. 12)

Obv. Bust of King facing r., with typical Kshatrapa features, truncated at the top, behind the head and above the curly hair, *Va.* 100 (+) 7.

Rev. Garuḍa with outspread wings ; above, to the left of Garuḍa a cluster of seven dots ; below, a wavy line ; border of dots to the circular legend, begins at IV and runs as follows :

Para- ... ... raja Sra Pa Ku [mar] gupta Mahandraditya.

The truncated portion as gathered from the legends on the other coins of this class may be either *ma Bhāgavata Rājādhi* or *ma Bhāgavata Mahārājādhi.* Notice the omission of *mar* after *Ku* and insertion of *Pa* before *Ku* in the legend, which may have happened by oversight.[1] The insertion of the signs of medial vowels *ā, i, ī,* and *e* is conspicuous by its absence as on the other Gupta silver coins bearing the characters of this size.

In view of the size of the coin and space left by the truncated portion in the legend it seems probable that the truncated portion belonged to the *Mahārājādhirāja* type of the legend.

In Western Kshatrapa coins, the date engraved behind the bust of king is facing right,[2] while in this coin, the date, though engraved behind the bust, is facing left as in the case of the dated silver coins of Chandragupta II, of western provinces.[3]

The known dates of the reign of Kumāragupta I range from G. E. 96[4] to G. E. 136.[5] The date of the coin described here is G. E. 107 which falls within the known range. It corresponds to 426-27 A. D.

1. *CGD.* Cat. Nos. 368 to 384, pp. 105 to 107.
2. *CAD,* Pl. XI Nos. 300, 306, etc.
3. *CGD,* Cat. Nos. 133, 134, 136, pp. 49-50, pl. X Nos. 14, 15, 17.
4. *CII,* Vol. III Op. Cit No. 10.
5. *JASB,* 1894, p. 175.

Among the Gupta silver coins of Western type, this coin falls under Class-I[1] and probably belongs to Variety A among the four varieties of that class.

On the coins (of this type) known hitherto, the date is rarely found though the word *Varsh(e)* is read[2] and even when the word *Varsh(e)* is followed by a numeral, the complete number of the year is hardly legible.[3] In view of this situation, the complete occurrence and reading of the date on this coin deserves special consideration.

B. P. DANI

9

A SO-CALLED LYRIST TYPE COPPER COIN

Bratindra Nath Mukherjee has published a copper coin from the collection of Sri S. K. Saraswati and, on the basis of palaeography, obverse and reverse and the fabric and general execution of the devices, attributed it to the Gupta period.[4] It is a round copper piece weighing 3.343 gms. (about 52 grains) and its provenance is unknown. Mukherjee's description of the coin is as follows :[5]

Obv. "King seated (probably on a couch), playing on a lyre, wearing close-fitting coat and trousers, bangles, ear-rings and necklace ; border of dots ; fragmentary legend in Gupta character on the side of the field just before the left knee of the king—*Nebūja.*

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmi) seated facing on lotus, nimbate, wearing girdle, bangles and necklace, holding lotus and fillet respectively in her right and left hands ; border of dots ; fragmentary legend in Gupta characters...*Jaṇama.*"

In the absense of definite help from the legends, Mukherjee puts some suggestions on other grounds. He takes it to be a lyrist type in copper and hence attributable to Samudragupta or Kumāragupta I, for only these two Gupta kings are known to have issued coins of this type in gold. To him, if it could be of Samudragupta, 'great importance should be attached' to it, for, 'in that case, Samudragupta should be considered to have been the originator of the Gupta copper

1. *Guptakālīna Mudrāyen* (Hindi) by A. S. Altekar, Ch. 9. pp. 153-154.
2. *CGD*, Cat. Nos. 258, 259, pl. XVI, Nos. 1, 2.
3. *ASI, AR*, 1923-24, p. 124, pl. XLI (b).
4. *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. I, 1959, No. 1, p. 35.
5. Ibid, p. 35.

series'.[1] But if it is attributed to Kumāragupta I, who seems to have better claim in his opinion, it is of great interest because in that case 'it should be considered to be a new style of copper coins of the said king'.[2] The reason for the latter's better claim is said to be 'the reverse type (goddess seated on lotus), occuring on our coin, which is known to have appeared on the Gupta gold issues for the first time during the reign of Chandragupta II.'[3]

Conscious, however, of obvious differences between this and lyrist type of Gupta coins, Mukherjee has offered two more alternative suggestions, i.e., this piece may have been 'minted by a chief (having the name Nebūja occuring on the obverse or Janama appearing on the reverse (?), pretending independence' or in the alternative, which is not altogether impossible, issued in imitation of the lyrist-type of Gupta gold coins during that period 'by a rich[4] private individual, probably a Banker'.[5] And thus to him this coin is a unique one in the whole range of Indian numismatics.[6]

We feel that none of the four hypotheses of Mukherjee are convincing. Even a general observation of the plate[7] makes it clear that it can be any thing but a specimen of Gupta numismatic art. The kings on the Gupta Lyrist-type are never seen in this pose. Execution of the goddess on the reverse also is quite different. Moreover, from the obverse in the plate the reading proposed cannot be confirmed. The reverse legend is not engraved in the usual way. It is written in the reverse manner, which goes against the established numismatic conventions of the Gupta period.

It seems that Mr. Mukherjee did not care to consult other series of coins, perhaps because he was too confident about his Gupta identification of it. An exactly similar type, represented by two specimens, was published by Cunningham.[8] It is an Ephthalite copper coin. The coin under reference is the third specimen of this type. The legend on the reverse of it is the same as on Cunningham's coin. He describes it as follows :[9]

1. Ibid, p. 35.
2. Ibid, p. 35.
3. Ibid, p. 36.
4. Ibid, p. 36.
5. Ibid, p. 36.
6. Ibid, p. 36.
7. Ibid, pl. I, facing p. 36.
8. 'Later Indo-Scythians', *NC*, 1894, p. 286 ; pl. IX, 13.
9. Ibid, p. 286.

Obv. "King seated to front, right hand on hip, left hand holding sceptre.

Rev. Seated goddess, holding flower in the left hand. Indian legend written reversed *Jayatu Śri Narendra.*"

As Cunningham's coin weighs 57 grains or 3.693 gms., all the coins of this type appear to belong to the same weight group.

Actually it is a sceptre which Mukherjee mistook for a lyre in the king's left hand. Probably the object in king's right hand is the upper portion of the hilt of a dagger or a small sword.

The provenance of these coins is not mentioned by Cunningham but at one place[1] he suggests its origin towards north-west India.

Kalhaṇa mentions two kings of Kashmir bearing the epithet Narendrāditya,[2] first Khiṁkhila Narendrāditya and the second Laṅkhaṇa Narendrāditya, both in the line of Mihirakula.[3] Cunningham reports about a silver coin bearing the name *Devashāhī Khiṅggila*[4] and identifies Khiṅggila with Khiṁkhila Narendrāditya of Kalhaṇa.[5] Stein refers to a coin of 'Raja Lakhana (?) Udayāditya mentioned by Cunningham,[6] and opines that most probably 'by the Laṅkhaṇa Narendrāditya of the chronicle is meant the same ruler who calls himself Laṅkhana Udayāditya on his coins'.[7] Cunningham also notes the striking resemblance in type, size and general fabric of this coin with the unique coin of Deva Shāhi Khiṅggila.[8] On the basis of this resemblance, Stein is inclined to identify the two. He refers to the copper coin in the following words[9]:

"But it is certainly curious that copper coins closely resembling in type the coins of the above-mentioned Ephthalite rulers actually show the name Narendra."

Thus Stein is inclined to attribute these copper coins to Deva Shahi Khiṅggila and Rājā Laṅkhana Udayāditya, both being one and the same person.

1. Ibid, p. 266.
2. Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. I. bk 3rd., Note 383 and 83.
3. Ibid, Vol. I, bk. 3rd.
4. Cunningham, Loc. cit. p. 265,
5. Ibid, p. 279.
6. Ibid, p. 265.
7. Stein, Ibid, Note 383.
8. Cunningham, Loc. cit. p. 279.
9. Ibid, note 383.

Stein observes that 'as in the case of Khiṅkhila, so we have here an Indian appellation used by the side of the foreign name Laṅkhana. Why this Indian name should have been differently recorded by K (i. e. Kalhaṇa), is a question which our present materials do not permit us to answer.'[1] It appears that some suggestions have been offered to equate this Laṅkana with the Lae-Lih of the Chinese sources, who was the leader of the Hūṇa invasion which snatched away the kingdom of Gandhara from the Kidar Kushāṇas. But Dr. Altekar is opposed to this view.[2] He argues that in so early a period, such Indianization of the coins is not possible, and he puts Lakhana Udayāditya of coins after c. 550 A. D.

Stein's view regarding the identity of Khinggila and Lakhana however, is very improbable. Simply on the basis of the resemblance 'in type and size and general fabric' it is not safe to identify the two kings bearing two different personal names Khinggila and Laṅkhana (or Lakhana) and two distinct epithets Narendrāditya and Udayāditya. He himself admits that 'we have no means at present to account for the difference of the second name, or to explain why this Ephthalite prince should have found his place in Kalhaṇa's list far away from Khinkhila and Mihirakula, with whom his name clearly connects him.'[3] By combining the two evidences of numismatics and Kalhaṇa, it may be possible to identify the Narendra of the copper coins with the Deva Shāhi Khinggila of the silver coin. Cunningham, however, does not seem to share this view. He separates the coins of Deva Shahi Khinggila and those of Deva Shahi and of Narendra etc., and, at one place, observes that 'all that can be said about them (Deva Shahi and Narendra etc.) is, that they must have flourished during the sixth and seventh centuries in the countries bordering upon India, or even in the N. W. of India itself.'[4]

T. P. VERMA

10

AN UNIDENTIFIED COIN OF BULL & HORSEMAN TYPE

[Plate II]

A treasure trove hoard of 41 billon coins belonging to the following Kings as entered in the Accession Register, was discovered in the Bijnor district of U. P. in the year 1917 :—

1. 1 Coin of Anaṅgapāla Deva of the Tomara dynasty (A. D. 1049-79).

1. Ibid, 83.
2. *JNSI*, IX, p. 15.
3. Stein, loc. cit. 83.
4. Cunningham, loc. cit. p. 98.

2. 1 Coin of Kirtivarma Deva of the Chandella dynasty of Bundelkhand (A. D. 1055-1100).
3. 21 Coins of Iltutmish (A. D. 1210-1235).
4. 2 „ of Firoz Shāh I (A. D. 1235).
5. 2 „ of Raziyya (A. D. 1236-1240).
6. 2 „ of Masaūd Shāh (A. D. 1242-1246).
7. 4 „ Balban (A. D. 1266-1287).
8. 8 „ of doubtful Kings.

All the other coins of this hoard were deciphered but this particular coin was incorrectly assigned and it was lying in a small packet since long. The legend on this coin is inscribed in the old Devanāgarī script and it runs as under :—

Obv.	Rev.
The legend begins from the forelegs of the recumbent bull seated left and it ends over his hump :	In a beaded border a Chauhan horsemen to right. Inscription in front of the horse :
साउप्रामसा···	(ह)मीर: (Pl. II)
	Weight 52 grs.

The legend (ह)मीर on the reverse which can be taken as Ameer (امیر) was a title frequently used by the early Sultāns of Dehli both on the obverse and reverse of their coins. The legend हमीर can be found on the reverse of coins No. 54 to 67, 73 to 80, and 82 to 87 of Iltutmish, No. 155 to 158 of his son Firoz I, No. 164 to 166 of his daughter Raziyya, No. 173 to 180 of his other son Bahram Shāh and on many other coins in the Nelson Wrights' *Catalogue of the Sultans of Dehli* in the Dehli Museum. On the strength of the legend on the obverse of this coin, viz. *Sā Uprām Sā*, I tried to assign this coin to any Sultan of the Turk dynasty but failed. This legend was shown to many experts of the old Devanāgarī script such as V. V. Mirashi, K. D. Bajpai and others and they have unanimously deciphered it as :—

Sā Uprām Sā

Unfortunately none of them has been able to assign this coin to any ruler of that period. Another coin of the same variety has been illustrated by Cunningham at p. 88, No. 22, Pl. IX of his *Coins of Mediaeval India*. The legend was doubtfully deciphered by him as : *Mau+Sri Uvāme*? which does not

convey any sense. I am publishing enlarged photographs of this coin with the hope that some one might be able to solve this mystery and assign the coin to any particular king.*

C. R. SINGHAL

*[*Note*—Shri Singhal deserves our thanks for bringing to light an interesting coin. He is quite right in suggesting that the coin belonged to the series of the Turk dynasty of the Delhi Sultans. But he could not locate the ruler to whom it could be atributed.

It may be pointed out that the ruler represented in the hoard belongs to the period between 1210 and 1287 A. D. with gaps between (i) 1240 and 1242 and (ii) 1246 and 1266 A. D. Though not neccessarily, but generally in a hoard hardly any intermediatery ruler or rulers are found unrepresented unless their reigns are extremely short. Here the hoard has been found in an area which is at not a very long distance from Delhi; and as such it is extremely unlikely that the coins of the intermediate rulers Bahram Shah (1240-1242 A. D.) and Nasiruddin Mahmud I (1246-1266 A. D.) did not reach the area. With this assumption, I feel that the present coin belongs to Bahram Shah and the legend may be read as *Sāu Vrām Sā*. In my reading what has been read by Singhal as *pra* may well be read a *vra*. In fact Cunningham has read the letter as *va* ; only he has missed or ignored the stroke of the *ref* at the lower end of the letter. The legend is meant for *Shah Bahrām Shāh*.

The coins of Bahram Shah of the horseman-bull type are known so far only with the legends *Suritāṇa Srī muajdī* (Coin 173) or *Muij* (coin 179 of *DMC*) giving first part of his name. But we have the coins of similar type of Iltutmish, where we find *Samsadī* (Coin 67B) the first part of his name as well as *(I)ltitim(ish)* (Coins 78-80) the later part of the name. So it is not unlikely that the coins of other rulers of the dynasty also used later part of their issuer's names.

However the suggestion is tentative. Scholars are invited to express their opinion. *P. L. Gupta*].

11

ON THE ATTRIBUTION OF ADL-GHAYASI

Certain small copper coins of the Delhi Sultan series issued from the mints Delhi, Sultanpur, Fakhrabad and Deogir bear on the obverse the legend *Adl-Ghiyāsī*. They are all of similar fabric and as such they are the issues of a ruler named

Ghiyās-ud-dīn. Among the Sultans of Delhi, there are two rulers called Ghiyās-ud-dīn. One was Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, who ruled between 664 and 686 A. H. and the other was Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq I, who ruled between 720 and 725 A.H.

Edward Thomas has assigned the *Adl-Ghiyāsī* coins of Delhi mint to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban, without giving any reason.[1] Nelson Wright has accepted his attribution[2] and attributed the coins of Sultanpur mint also to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Balban[3]. He located Sultanpur somewhere in or near the province of Bengal, which was the scene of principal expeditions during the reign of Balban. In his support, he has cited a silver of Balban, which has a marginal legend that he has read as—

ضربت هذا بكملة سلطانپور... ...تسع و تسعين و ستمايۃ

i. e. struck in the district af Sultanpur.....in the year 679 A.H. But H. Nevil placed Sultanpur in the Punjab, where Balban was governor, just before his assumption of the royalty.[4] He located the place on the east bank of the river Beas, on Lahore-Delhi Road. According to him this town is frequently mentioned by the historians during the reign of Balban.

The coin of Fakhrabad mint is also assigned to Balban by Whitehead, who published it.[5] But it remains unidentified so far.

The coin of the fourth mint Deogir was published by E.E. Speight and he assigned it to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq I.[6]

Thus the *Adl-Ghiyāsī* coins are attributed to both the Ghiyās-ud-dīns, while they really belong to only one of them. Here we propose to find out the correct attribution.

The coins of Delhi mint are of no help in the matter, as they may be attributed to both of the Ghiyas-ud-dins with equal force, in absence of any positive evidence, Delhi being the capital of both of them. The coins of the other three mints may lead to some conclusion, if we are able to locate them properly and establish the occupation of all the three places by one and the same ruler.

So for the locality of Fakhrabad is unidentified and the location of Sultaupur is uncertain. So, it is only Deogir, which may help in tracking the correct attribution.

1. *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 135, coin No. 115, pl. II, 45.
2. *IMC*, II, Coin No. 160.
3. *NS*, I, p. 3.
4. *NS*, XXXV.
5. *NS*, XIV, p. 565.
6. *Islamic Culture*, 1935, p. 286 ; Coins 31 and 33.

By all means the location of Deogir in the Deccan is certain and undisputed. And we also know that Deogir was attacked for the first time by Alauddin Muhammad Khilji and then by his successor Mubarak Shah Khilji and finally by Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq. His armies were led by his son Fakhruddin Juna, who later assumed the title of Muhammad bin Tughlaq. As such there is no possibility of *Adl-Ghiyāsī* of Deogir mint having been issued by Balban. It is only Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq, who would have issued it; and Speight had rightly anticipated it.

Once we admit that *Adl-Ghiyāsī* of Deogir mint was issued by Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq, we should also admit that the attribution of the *Adl Ghiyāsī* coins of Delhi, Sultanpur and Fakhrabad to Balban was not correct. They should also be attributed to Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq.

Here, it would be pertinent to point out that I have obtained an *Adl-Ghīyāsī* of Sultanpur at Warangal and of Fakhrabad at Hyderabad. These coins are fair indications that these two mints were also situated in Deccan, which was beyond the reach of Balban.

As regards the identity of Sultanpur in Deccan, I hardly need say that Warangal, the find-place of my Sultanpur coin, itself was named Sultanpur by Fakhruddin Juna (Muhammad Tūghlaq) during the reign of his father Ghayas-ud-din Tughlaq. Fakhrabad cannot be precisely located at the moment; but very likely it was situated not far from Hyderabad and was named after Fakhruddin Juna.

With the location of all the three mints Deogir, Sultanpur and Fakhrabad in Deccan, it comes out that on the eve of the conquest of Deccan by the armies of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughlaq, the *Adl-Ghīyāsī* coins were issued from these places on the pattern of Delhi *Adl-Ghiyāsī*.

A. H. SIDDIQUI

NOTES & NEWS

1

Mughal Coins under the Sea

About seven years back, a professional underwater film-maker went under the sea about ten miles off the south coast of Ceylon, with a view to shoot the world underlying. As he was approaching the Great Basses reef, on which the British had built a lighthouse some hundred years ago, he was involved in a terrifying game of bluff with a prowling shark down in the savage currents of the reef. At that time he noticed a cannon and a great cluster of coins lying in the bed of the sea. Since there was no time for the cameraman for any diving as the threatening monsoon clouds were gathering on the horizon, he came back without any investigation.

At that spot the monsoon gales turn the tropical water of the Arabian Sea into a foaming maelstorm as they rush past into the Bay of Bengal, and create a whirling death-trap for the sea-farers. It is, therefore, believed that the sea-bed there is littered with wrecks of all ages, and few sea-faring nations have escaped without any loss in that area.

The news brought by the cameraman evoked the interest of Peter Throckmorton, the renowned underwater treasure-hunter. He had earlier discovered a trading ship of the Bronze age, which sank off the coast of Turkey in about 1200 B. C. He immediately organised an expedition and reached the spot. As he began the salvage work near the reef, he found a small brass cannon, and with the progress of the work came out twenty-two other cannons, some of them eight feet long. Along with them were also discovered many cannon-balls and iron grenades with fuses fixed.

But, for the numismatists, the most interesting discovery was of silver coins, enmassed like bags. Nine such masses, each weighing thirty pounds and containing 1000 coins were discovered. Throckmorton thinks that there may still be hundred such masses more to be salvaged.

All the salvaged coins are rupee and half-rupee of Aurangzeb of Surat mint and all of them have the same date—1113 A. H. They are all in perfect mint condition, except those which were in direct contact of the sea-water and had got the coating of coral. Such coins are slightly

damaged. Some of the coins were found adhering with hemp fabric of the bags in which they were originally kept. One of these salvaged masses, in its original form, has now been put on display in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington (U.S.A.).

The discoverers think that the wreck they have discovered with the cannons and coins might be a ship of war of the Dutch, who were the masters of Ceylon at that time i.e. in 1113 A.H. (1702 A.D.) or of British, who were bidding for supremacy. They also see the possibility of its being a pirate craft. But my friends in London, Mr. C. H. Biddulph and Dr. John Walker, think that it was possibly a Mughal ship which was going to trade in Ceylon with the Chinese crafts coming from the far-east with silk, spices etc.

P. L. GUPTA

2

The Kenndy Half Dollar

The Numismatic Society of India thankfully acknowledges the gift of two Kennedy half dollars made to it by the Director, Money Museum, National Bank of Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. The short note on the Kennedy half dollar, given below, is an adaptation from the pamphlet issued by the Treasury Department, Washington, U. S. A.

John Fitzgerald Kennedy was inaugurated President of the United States on January 20, 1961, and served not quite three full years of his term of office. His untimely death on November 22, 1963, resulted in such an outpouring of public sentiment that President Johnson, on December 10, 1963, sent to the Congress legislation authorizing the Treasury Department to mint new 50-cent pieces bearing the likeness of his predecessor.

Legislative authority is necessary to change a coin design which has not been in effect for the statutory 25-year period. Congress gave its overwhelming approval to the President's recommendation and on December 30, 1963, Public Law No. 88-256 was enacted directing the Mint to proceed with the production of the new design. The first of the John F. Kennedy half dollars for general circulation purposes were struck at the Mints in Philadelphia and Denver on February 11, 1964. The half dollar was selected because this would add another Presidential portrait to a coin of regular issue.

In the center of the obverse, or face of the coin, is a strong but simple bust of the late President. Above, and around the border is the word *Liberty*. Just below the bust is the motto,

In God We Trust, which appears on all United States coins of current issue. The date is at the bottom of the coin, around the border.

The Presidential Coat of Arms forms the motif for the reverse, or back of the coin. It is the central part of the Presidential Seal, the only difference being that the words *Seal of the President of the United States* have been removed and in their place are inscriptions required by law to appear on all United States coins : the words *United States of America,* above, around the border, and the denomination, *Half Dollar,* around the bottom border. Other requirements already incorporated in the Coat of Arms are the eagle, and *E Pluribus Unum,* which appears on the ribbon above the eagle's head.

The Kennedy coin had its beginnings when official sculptors were engaged in preparing a new medal for the historic series of Presidential pieces manufactured in bronze for sale to the public. The Kennedy portrait is an adaptation from the model prepared for the new medal by Gilroy Roberts—the Chief Sculptor of United States Mint and a member of Philadelphia Staff for many years. The Coat of Arms of the President of United States—an integral part of the reverse design of Presidential Medal executed by Frank Gasparro, also of Philadelphia staff—was chosen as the companion side for the half dollar.

The Coat of Arms depicts the American Eagle holding in its right talon an olive branch of peace, and in the left talon, arrows for defense. Symbolism derived from the Thirteen Original States governs the number of olive leaves, berries, arrows, stars and cloud puffs. The upper part of the flag or shield upon the breast of the eagle represents the Congress binding the Colonies into an entity. The vertical stripes complete the motif of the Flag of the United States. Each State of the Nation is represented in the 50-star amulet which rings the whole. The theme of the device is punctuated by the motto *E Pluribus Unum,* which appears on the ribbon above the eagle's head. Translated "One out of Many," it refers to the unity of the States and the strength of the Nation.

The Presidential Seal originated during the Administration of President Rutherford B. Hayes, apparently as a rendering of the Great Seal of the United States. There was no known basis in law for the Coat of Arms and the Seal which had been used by Presidents since 1880 and which was reproduced on the Presidential Flag. President Harry S. Truman, when he signed the Executive Order of October 25, 1945, containing the official description, established for the first time a legal definition of

the President's Coat of Arms and his Seal. According to heraldic custom, the eagle on a Coat of Arms, unless otherwise specified in the heraldic description, is always made to face to its own right. There is no explanation for the eagle facing to its own left in the case of the President's Coat of Arms. To conform to heraldic custom, and since there was no authority other than usage for the former Presidential Coat of Arms, President Franklin D. Roosevelt had asked that it be redesigned. The designs reached Washington after the President's death. In the new Coat of Arms, Seal and Flag, the eagle not only faces to its right—the direction of honor—but also toward the olive branches of peace which it holds in its right talon. Formerly, the eagle faced toward the arrows in its left talon.

The Kennedy half dollar is not a commemorative coin. Such commemorative coins are authorized by special acts of Congress, manufactured in limited quantities and sold at a profit by the private organizations sponsoring the issues. The Kennedy coin is made for regular distribution and the design will remain in effect for 25 years, as prescribed by law, unless the Congress authorizes a change in the interim. It takes the place of the Franklin design, which first appeared in 1948.

(See Plate III for the Kennedy Half Dollar)

"Interested in ancient fine condition silver, copper coins—preferably Indo-Greek, Parthian, Sassanian, Gupta, Mughal, Zodiac and others. Also interested in War Medals and other Medals of all kinds.

Please write to–

Santosh Kumar

8/10 "G" Block, Connaught Circus, Radial Road No. 2, New Delhi, 1; Life Member, Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi."

COMMUNICATIONS

1

4th April, 1964.

Sir,

When Were the Scales Lost ?

Reference Shri Gattani's reply to the above query, raised, by Shri S. S. Dave, which appeared in the *JNSI,* Vol. XXV pages 256-258. The reply contains very interesting and useful information. Perhaps it will be of help if I put on record an additional information regarding the same coins and certain other coins in my collection.

I also possess the coin dated 1794. The weight of this coin is about 187 grains and size (diameter) 31 m.m. According to its weight and size, I think that it is equivalent to 'Half Anna'.

Other coin in my collection bears the date 1791. The weight is about 41 grains and size 20 m m. This, I think is equivalent to ½ pice.

A coin dated 1821 in my possession has the following description : *Obv.* : Company's bale mark, embodying the initials *V.E.I.C.* and the date. *Rev.* : Scale and between the two pans it bears the Nāgarī legend *Ardha Paisa.* Weight about 58 grains and size 17 m.m. Please note that *Samvat* year is not shown on this coin.

Half Anna dated 1834. *Obv.* : The Arms and Supporters of the East India Company and the legend *East India Company. Rev.* : Scale, above—*Half Anna* ; below : *Adel* and Hejira year 1249 in Persian characters. (Note : I have two pieces of this coin. On the reverse, the legend *Half Anna* is written in bold type on one and in smaller type on the other). It appears that two different dies were used for the reverse.

One-half Pice. *Obv.* : Coat of Arms of the Company with date 1853. *Rev.* : A circle of laurel leaves surrounding the value ½ Pice and the legend *East India Company.*

One-twelfth Anna. Description as above, except the value 1/12 Anna and date 1848.

As regards coins dated 1830, 1832 and 1833, Shri Gattani has correctly described them, except that the dates 1930, 1932 and 1933 on page 257 should be amended to read 1830, 1832 and 1833 respectively.

A silver Rupee of 1835 in my possession bears the following description : *Obv.* : King's bust to right surrounded by the legend *William III King. Rev.* : Wreath enclosing the value *One Rupee.* Above, the legend *East India Company* and below, the date 1835. Half Anna, one quarter Anna and 1/12 Anna in my possession also bear the same date, viz. 1835, and it is assumed that they are all the multiples of the above rupee.

From the information given above it is evident that the scales were discontinued with effect from 1835.

If the above additional information is found suitable for publication, I will be grateful for your necessary action in due course.

Yours faithfully,
D. M. PHATAK,
623/33, Sadashiv, Deshmukh Wadi,
Poona—2.

2

March 2, 1964

Dear Sir,

.....

Very keen collector of coins, I would be very happy to contact a numismatist of India to exchange documentation and coins.

My own collection contains more than 13,000 coins and I have a very big lot of duplications.

I put aside a pencil picture list of some coins I could send in a first parcel ; also my want list for British India—

Do you believe you could help me ? I try to get 2 of each kind of coins for face and reverse without regarding dates or mint-marks except if there are some particularities.

.....

Yours faithfully,
GEORGES VAN HOOLAND
44 Rue Alice Bron
Moncean-sur-sambre
Hainaut
Belgique

[The pencil rubbings supplied by Georges Van Hoolaud are of Belgian coins. He is prepared to exchange coins for Indian, Afghan, Tibetan coins etc. His want list includes British Indian coins, coins of Native States and of Republic of India. Those interested are requested to write directly to him. —*Editor*]

3

Calcutta ; May 9, 1964

Dear Sir,

With reference to the request expressed in the note at page 263 of Part II of Vol. XXV of the *JNSI*, I am pleased to inform you that :

(1) I am specializing in the study and collection of Nepalese, Tibetan and Buthan coins, ancient and modern ; I have some duplicates of the same and would be ready to exchange them ;

(2) I have a fair number of Italian modern coins. I am ready to exchange them, but what I think is of more interest, I am at the disposal of anybody who wanted to have informations on the Italian modern coinage.

Yours faithfully,
CARLO VALDETTARO
16 A, St. George Terrace
Hastings, Calcutta—22

4

[Ing. E. Pávó, redactor numismat, Budapest-XI, Lágymányos 12, Hungary, has requested modern coins exchange partner corresponding in English, French, German and Hungarian. —*Editor*]

5

18 August 1964

Dear Sir,

Read with interest a recent article published in *World Coins* with reference to your Society.

I have recently started a collection of world coins myself and to date your country is not represented. I wonder if you might pass my letter on to some member of your Society or to some other collector interested in trading the coins of your country for the coins of my country.

I am not interested in any rare type or even valuable coins but rather prototypes of your current coinage and perhaps some of the not too distant past. In exchange I will send types of

our coinage or any specific items requested. For example the recent U.S. Kennedy half dollar has been extremely popular with collectors in other countries as well as our silver dollars of recent years. Basis of trade would be whatever value your country puts on the coins in relation to the current US dollar value.

May I thank you in advance for any help you may see fit to render me, I remain,

Respectfully yours,
RAYMOND J. ISACSSON
70 Alcott Road
Rochester, New York
14626, U. S. A.

Coins of Mewar—In two parts, A. D. 562 to 1303 and 1303 to 1948. (Pp. 44, Royal Octavo, 5 Plates, 112 Coins illustrated). By Roshanlal Samar.

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By Roshanlal Samar.
Rs. 2/- Postage Extra.

A Thesis on the Origin of Guhilots—Hun ?
(to be published.)

Hun Mandal in Rajasthan. (to be published)

Coins of Parmars of Malwa (to be published.)

गुह और गुहिल—(शोध पत्रिका भाग १ अं० १ सं० २००४ वि०)

बापा रावल के दो सोने के सिक्के—(शोध पत्रिका भा० २ अं० १)

Coins of Sibi Janapada of Mijhimika (J.N.S.I. Vol. IX Pt. II (1947)

Guhila Vamsa of Chatsu Inscription (in Press)

To be had from Roshanlal Samar, B.A. LL.B., Advocate
Udaipur (Rajasthan), India.

Addenda & Corrigenda

(JNSI. Vol : XXV, Pt : II)

"Countermarked Durrani and Sikh Coins" by C. H. Biddulph.

Page 198. Para 5. Read 'note' for 'hote.'

Page 199. Para 1. Insert 'the' before 'Durranis' in the first line.

„ „ Para 5. Read 'scanty' for 'scant' in the third line.

„ „ „ „ Insert 'be' between 'may' and 'offered' in the last sentence.

Page 201. Read 'anwala' for 'anwals'.

Page 203 Para 4. Read 'Timur Shah' for 'Timur Such'.

Page 205 Para 5. Second line, read 'any' for 'ony.'

„ „ Para 7. Fourth line, read 'at' for 'and' between Ranjit Singh and Sahiwal.

"Coins of the Talpur Mirs of Sind", by C. H. Biddulph.

Page 210. Para 5. Second line, insert the word 'his' between 'in' and 'Introduction'.

Page 218. In the details of coin No 13. Read '1088' for '1080.'

"The Marathas in Southern India and their Coinage," by C.H. Biddulph.

Page 221. Para 5. Read 'Arcot' for 'arcot' in the fifth line.

Page 225. Para 4. Read 'Nundy droog' for 'Mundy droog.

„ „ „ „ Read 'Major Gowdie' for 'Major Gowdi.'

Page 227. Para 4. In line four read 'never' for 'have'.

Page 232. In details for Coin No.21, Insert 'Mint : ?'.

"Shah Jahan and his Rupees of Ajmer Mint", by C.H. Biddulph.

Page 252. Para 1. In line six the part of the mint name should be read سیرابان ماہ and not شہرابان ماہ as in the text.

"Countermarked Coin of the Imam of Muscat and Oman", by C.H. Biddulph.

Page 259. Para 2. Read '1875' for '1857' appearing twice in the same paragraph.

JNSI, XXVI, Pt. I, p. 115—Read **'Kennedy'** for **'Kenndy'** in the title.

REVIEW

A Bibliography of Ceylon Coins and Currency : Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern—by H. A. I. Goonetileke ; Reprinted from *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (July-December) 1963 ; pp. 187-242.

This *Bibliography* is a welcome addition to reference works on Ceylon coinage. Divided into six convenient parts, viz. General, Ancient and Mediaeval Ceylon, Portuguese coins and currency, Dutch coins and currency, British coins and currency and Miscellaneous which includes mediaeval and modern coins, it also contains an Appendix on Indian coins and an Author Index at the end. Codrington's pioneer work, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, justifiably occupies a place of honour in the Bibliography. It has not only been 'dissected and subsumed under ... appropriate sections', but also served as a model for the disposal of the material and its classification.

Since the book is mainly compiled on the basis of the available material in Ceylon libraries, a few omissions can not be ruled out. The compiler himself does not claim it to be exhaustive and rather presents his work 'as a starting point for something better.' The section on Indian coins is particularly brief and sketchy, containing only 'a small selection of representative contributions on the subject'.

It is also necessary to point out some lapses in the scientific arrangement and notice of the material contained in the Bibliography. The classification is not clear-cut and precise and, at best, it can only be provisional as acknowledged by the compiler himself. It is particularly noticeable in the Appendix, which, devoted to Indian coins, also includes articles dealing with Ceylon coinage. Here the authors' names also are not arranged alphabetically. It may be appreciated that the compiler has tried to avoid repetitions as for as possible, but wherever an article or work was required to be referred again, it would have been more scientific to supply cross-references. Besides, the Bibliography also deviates from uniformity by supplying descriptive notes for some of the articles and works and mere notice in case of others.

Inspite, however, of the few shortcomings noted above, the *Bibliography* is undoubtedly a valuable reference work on Ceylon coinage and the compiler has to be congratulated for having prepared it on such limited resources.

—*A. K. NARAIN*

OBITUARIES

It is with profound regret that we have to record the death of three of the distinguished Presidents of the Society, that had occurred during some time past. They are J. M. Unvala, H. E. Stapleton and A.W. Botham.

1.

J. M. Unvala

J. M. Unvala was a distinguished educationist of the Parsi Community. He was so unassuming and quiet living person that little is known of his personal life. He was a keen scholar of Sassanian numismatics and was writing on the subject in Journals outside India for a quite long time. His contributions are rarely known in India. In 1943, when he joined the Numismatic Society of India, he introduced the subject in the *Journal* of the Society and contributed several articles. He was the President of the Society's Annual Meeting held at Delhi in 1948. He died at Bombay in the early part of 1962.

P. L. GUPTA

2.

H. E. Stapleton

H. E. Stapleton was in Indian Educational Service in Assam and had distinguished himself in the field of the Eastern Indian numismatics. He had joined the Numismatic Society of India in 1924 and was the President of the Annual Meeting of the Society in 1930, which was held at Patna. In his presidential address he had dealt with the coins of then little known two Hindu rulers of Bengal, Danujamardandeva and Mahendradeva. But his most important contribution is the paper on the Coinage of Assam (*JASB*, VI, 1910). His another interesting paper is on the Countess Amherst Collection of Assamese Coins, published in *NS*, XLVI (1935-36). His other important contributions are :

1. The Early Gold Coinage of the Delhi Emperors (*JASB*, VI, 1910).
2. A find of 182 Silver Coins of kings of the Husaini and Suri dynasties from Raipara (*NS*, XLII).

He died in January 1962 at Brelade, Jersey (England).

P. L. GUPTA

3.

A. W. Botham

Arthur William Botham was one of those I.C.S. officers in India, who have rendered valuable service to Indian numismatics. He developed a rich collection of the coins of Eastern Bengal and Assam which he presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Though there is not much of gold, it is very strong in silver. He has given us detailed information about the coins of these series in the *Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet Assam* published in 1930 and his three papers published in the *Numismatic Supplement*: "Some Kachari Coins" (XX, 120); "Chronology of Jaintia Kings" (XXIX. 139) and "The Ahom Coins of A.D. 1648" (XXIX, 138). Botham was the Member of the Numismatic Society of India from its very inception and was the President of the Annual Meeting of the Society in 1927, which was held at Bombay. He was elected Honorary Member of the Society in. He died at Alford, Lincolnshire (England) on 25th August 1963 at the age of 89.

A.W. Botham was the son of Rev. George Willaim Botham, who was Rector Anderby, Alforfor many years of; and was born in December 1874. He was educated first privately, then at Magdalene College, Cambridge and passed B. A. in 1896. In 1898 he entered the Indian Civil Service and spent his entire service in Assam. There rising from the usual cadre of I.C.S. officers, he became Commissioner of Excise in 1912, and next year the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner. In 1919 he was appointed Chief Secretary to Assam Government and held that post till 1925, when he became the Member of the Executive Council of Assam. At the time of his retirement in 1931, he was the Finance Minister. He was awarded C.I.E. in 1918 and C.S.I. in 1926. After retirement he returned to England and settled at Alford. There he was for a time the Member of the Alford Urban District Council and Justice of Peace for Lincolnshire and sat at Alford Bench.

We offer our heartfelt condolences to the near and dear ones.

P. L. GUPTA



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Rare Silver Punch-marked Coin (1-2); Punch-marked Coins from Nevari (3-7) ; A New Silver Coin of Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi (8) ; Silver-plated Gupta Coins from Sherdi (9-11) ; A Dated Silver Coin of Kumāragupta I (12)



Obverse Reverse

An Unidentified Coin of Bull and Horseman Type

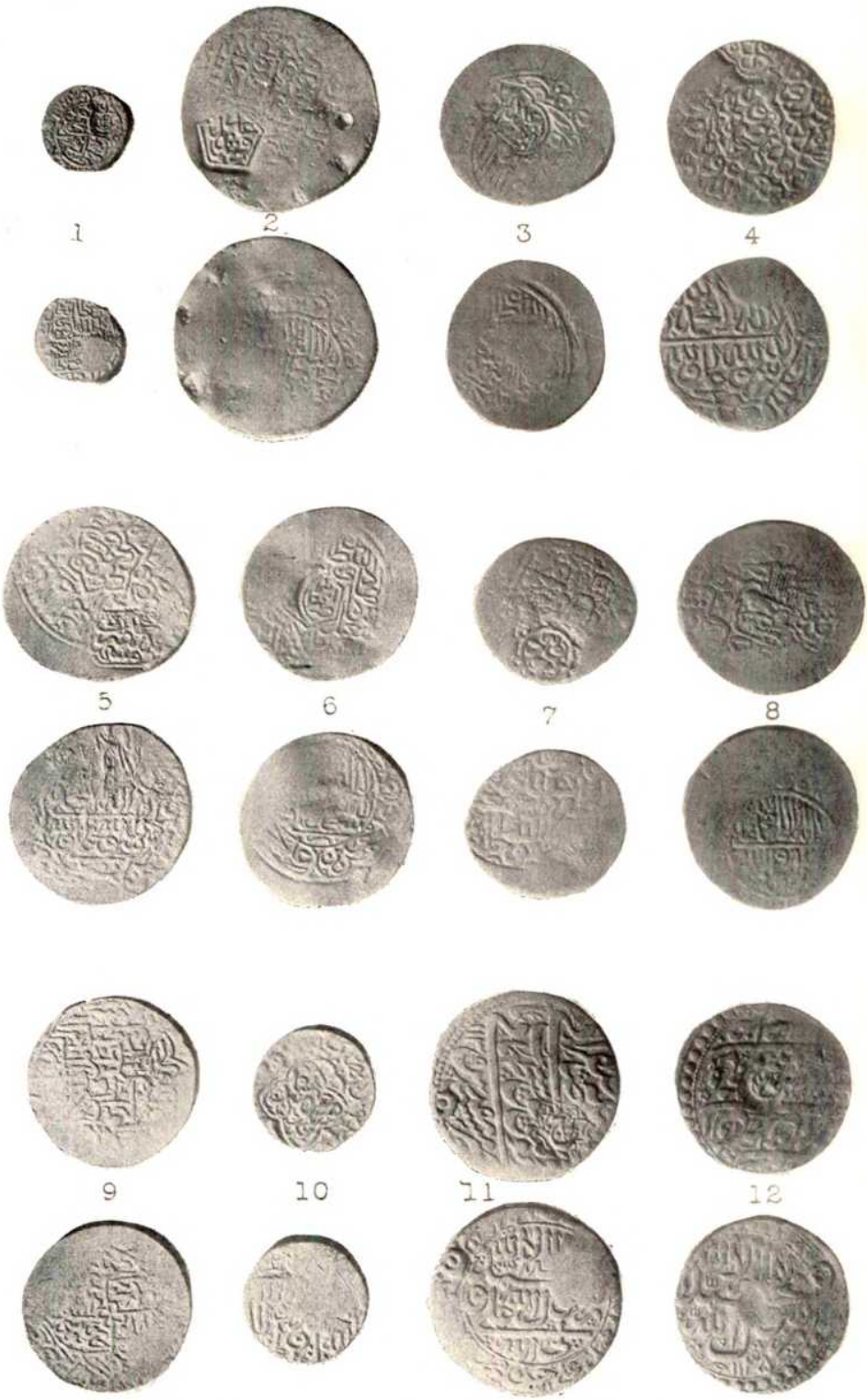


Obverse



Reverse

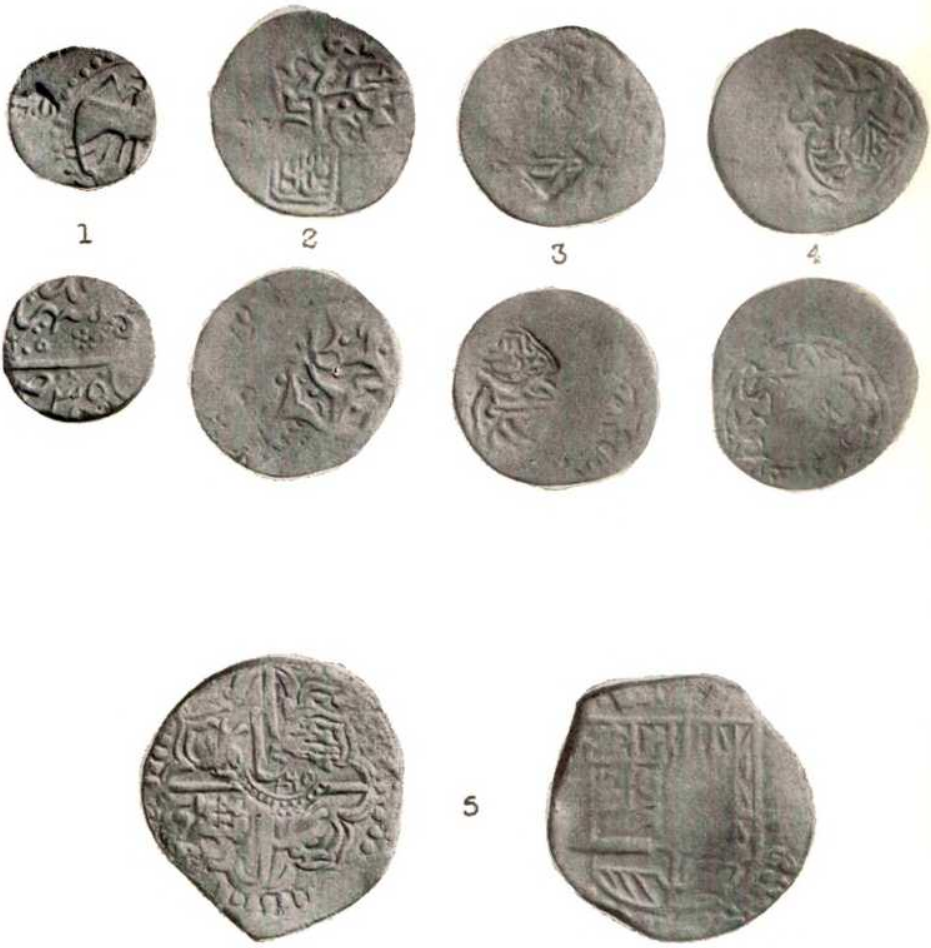
The Kennedy Half Dollar



Countermarked Coins of the Shahs of Persia



Countermarked Coins of the Shahs of Persia



Countermarked Coins of the Shahs of Persia (1-4) ;
Countermarked Spanish Rial (5)



Coins of Agnimitra (1-3) ; Unique South Indian Copper Coins (4-6)

THE

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THE VIṀŚOPAKA AND ITS QUARTER

D. C. SIRCAR

The word *viṁśopaka* is mentioned in a number of inscriptions as the name of a coin as also of a land measure. The derivative meaning of the word is uncertain ; but it seems to be wrongly Sanskritised from Prakrit *vīsovaga* = Sanskrit *viṁśopaga*, 'belonging to twenty', and the *viṁśopaka* was the twentieth of the standard silver coin in value and of the standard land measure in area.

That twenty *viṁśopakas* made one silver *dramma* was known to scholars from the celebrated Siyadoni inscription, line 20 of which mentions half of a *vigrahatuṅgīya-dramma* as equal to ten *viṁśopakas*.[1] This record comes from the Jhansi District of U. P. The recently published charter (592 A. D.) of *Vishṇusheṇa* likewise represents five *viṁśopakas* as the same as one-fourth of the silver coin called *rūpaka*.[2] This inscription comes apparently from the Gujarat region. Some early medieval inscriptions of the same area speak of *viṁśopaka* as the name of a land measure.[3]

We have seen that twenty *viṁśopakas* are regarded as equal to the silver coin called *dramma* in one record and *rūpaka* in another. This raises the question whether *dramma* and *rūpaka* may be different names of the same coin. According to Bhāskarāchārya's *Lilāvatī* (thirteenth century),

20 cowrie-shells = 1 *kākinī*
80 ,, = 4 ,, = 1 *paṇa*
1280 ,, = 64 ,, = 16 ,, = 1 *dramma* ;

and the same work further says that the *dharaṇa* (i. e. the silver *kārshāpaṇa* or *purāṇa*), apparently the same as *dramma* was, in weight, equal to twenty four *ratis* and one-half of a *gadyāṇa*.[4] According to a table of equation popular in Eastern India during the late medieval period,

4 cowrie-shells = 1 *gaṇḍā*
80 ,, = 20 ,, = 1 *paṇa*
1280 ,, = 320 ,, = 16 ,, = *kāhaṇa* (*kārshāpaṇa*).[5]

1. See D.R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 210 ; *CII*, IV, p. clxxxix, note 7.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 175, note 2; p. 180, text line 23.
3. A. K. Majumdar, *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 244.
4. Above, VII, pp. 82 ff.
5. Loc. cit.

The two tables make it clear that the *dramma* and *kārshāpaṇa* (*purāṇa* and *dharaṇa*) were regarded as the same, even though the weight of the former is given as twenty four *ratis* while that of the latter, as known from older works like the *Manusmṛitī*, was thirty two *ratis*. This is because the name *kārshāpaṇa* here indicates the silver hemidrachmae introduced by the Śaka Satraps of Western India and imitated by the Traikūṭakas, Kalachuris and Guptas. In the fifth century A. D. when Buddhaghosha flourished, this new *kārshāpaṇa* was called *rudradāmaka-kārshāpaṇa* (after the celebrated Śaka Satrap Rudradāman I, 130-50 A. D.) and was regarded as three-fourths of the old *kārshāpaṇa* (weighing thirty two *ratis*) in weight and value.[1] The theoretical weight of the new *kārshāpaṇa* was thus twenty four *ratis* although it was probably somewhat lighter actually. That the same silver coin was called *rūpaka* since the age of the Guptas is clearly indicated by epigraphic evidence. Thus the Gupta silver coins, imitated from the Śaka silver currency, are called *rūpaka* in the Baigram copper-plate inscription (448 A. D.)[2] while Kalachuri Kṛishṇarāja's silver coins of the same type are mentioned as *kṛishṇarāja-rūpaka* in the Anjaneri plates (710 A. D.).[3]

Just as twenty *viṁśopakas* were equal to a silver *dramma* = *kārshāpaṇa* = *rūpaka* (twenty four *ratis* theoretically), the *shoḍaśikā* was one-sixteenth of the same silver coin in value. Since the *shoḍaśikā* is comparable to the old copper *paṇa*, sixteen of which made the old *kārshāpaṇa* (*purāṇa* or *dharaṇa*) weighing thirty two *ratis*, there is no doubt that the *viṁśopaka* and *shoḍaśikā* were copper coins. The fact that the *viṁśopaka* was equal to about one *rati* of silver also suggests that it was a coin of copper and not of silver.

The coin name *viṁśopaka* is sometimes found in the Prakrit form *visovā* in West Indian epigraphs like the Patan inscription of the time of Siṅghaṇa.[4] Apparently the same coin is called *vīsa* (Sanskrit *viṁśa*) in Kannaḍa inscriptions as in *lokkīya-vīsa* or the *vīsa* minted at Lokki or Lokkiguṇḍi, i. e. modern Lakkundi in the Dharwar District of Mysore.[5]

As regards the land measure called *viṁśopaka*, there is little doubt that the name survives in the modern *biswa* (Marathī *visva*) which is the twentieth part of a property especially of the

1. Above, VII. pp. 189-90 ; cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 158-59.
2. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 343 and note 5.
3. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 229. Pratīhāra Bhoja's silver coins (Smith's *catalogue*, pp. 241-42), probably called *ādivarāha-dramma* in the Siyadoni inscription, were really double *dramma*.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 343 ; *CII*, IV, p. clxxxix, note 7.
5. *AREp.* 1933-34, B. K. No. 120.

standard land measure called *bighā*, according to Wilson's glossary.

If twenty *viṁśopaka* (*visovā*, *vīsa*) coins of copper were equal to one silver coin equated with 1280 cowrie-shells, one *viṁśopaka* would be equal to 64 cowrie-shells. But the number of cowrie-shells to be equated with a *dramma* is sometimes given differently. Thus, according to a scheme popular in the Rajasthan region during the late medieval period,

5	cowrie-shells	=	1	*pāvīsā*			
100	,,	=	20	,,	= 1	*lohaḍiyā*	
2000	,,	=	400	,,	= 20	,,	= 1 *dramma*.[1]

Although it is difficult to say whether this *dramma* is the same silver money weighing twenty four *ratis* theoretically or the silver *ṭaṅka* or *rūpīa* issued by the Muslim rulers, the name *pāvīsā* in the above table is interesting since it is clearly Sanskrit *pāda-viṁśaka* or quarter *viṁśopaka*. The gap between the old and new rates of exchange, viz. 80 quarter *viṁśopakas* = 20 *viṁśopakas* = 1 *dramma* and 400 *pāvīsās* = 100 *visās* or *viṁśopakas* = 1 *dramma*, may of course suggest that the *dramma* here is a heavier coin such as the Muslim silver money like the *rūpīa* of 80 or 96 *ratis*.

The old rate equating 20 *viṁśopakas* with the *dramma* = *kārshāpaṇa* = *rūpaka* would suggest the equation of 80 *pāvīsās* (*pāda-viṁśakas* = *pāda-viṁśopakas*) with one silver coin, and this rate seems to suggest further that the word *pāvīsā* was later modified to *paīsā* through an intermediate form like *paīsā* = Sanskrit *pada-viṁśaka*, which is the same as *pāda-viṁśaka* (*pāda-viṁśopaka*).

According to Wilson's Glossary, *paisā* (variously written as *pysa*, *pyce*, *pice*, etc. in English) was a copper coin which, under the native government, varied considerably in weight and value, the East India Company's pice being fixed at the weight of 100 grains and rated at 64 to the silver rupee. That it was sometimes rated, like the quarter *viṁśaka* or *viṁśopaka* to the *dramma*, at 80 to the rupee is also known from Fryer (1673 A.D.) as quoted in the *Hobson-Jobson*.

It is interesting to note that the word *paisā* (*pada-viṁśaka*, '$\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{20}$' i.e. $\frac{1}{80}$) is not only used to indicate the copper coin a number of which are equated with the rupee, but that, in Marāṭhī, it also means a land measure which is now regarded as equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ *bighās*. The area of land, of which the *paisā*

1. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 238.

was $\frac{1}{80}$, was originally about 600 *bighās*. The fixation of the rent of a *viṁśopaka* of land at the high rate of 24, 20, 16 or 10 *drammas* in the early medieval records of Gujarat indeed seem to refer to a big area.[1]

1. A.K. Majumdar, *The Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 244. The purchasing power of a silver coin was very high and the price of the produce of the fields was very cheap. Under the circumstances, 10 *drammas* could have been the tax for a *viṁśopaka* of fallow land only if it was a very big area.

PARASĀ DAYĀRĀMA HOARD OF SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS

SHIVAJI SINGH

[Pls. I–III]

Parasā Dayārāma is a village in the Farenda Tehsil of the Gorakhpur District, situated at a distance of about two miles to the North-west of the Prandarpur Railway station on the N. E. R. It was from the mound of this village that the present hoard of silver punch-marked coins was discovered recently. The district authorities have kindly allowed the treasure to remain under my custody for some time for the purposes of classification and study, and I present below the results of my initial examination of the hoard.

This hoard can be studied from different stand points ; but here I have confined myself mainly to the task of identifying the symbols on obverse and reverse, and the classification of coins.

Discovery of the Hoard

The circumstances under which the hoard was discovered are worth noting. In course of the U. P. Govt. Scheme of Archaeological Explorations in the Gorakhpur Division, being carried on under my supervision by the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Gorakhpur, an exploration party consisting of Messrs V. S. Tiwari, K. P. N. Singh and R. R. Pal visited the village of Parasā Dayārām on March 13, 1964. There, they came to know that a man named Sukkhoo had found a hoard (*loṭiyā* as the villagers called it) of coins a few months back but, as only a few days subsequent to that find his daughter-in-law had expired and as his son too had fallen seriously ill, he had burried the hoard back to its original place at the instance of a local *Sokhā* believing that it was the treasure that had brought him the misfortune. They contacted him and with great hesitation the man showed the place where he had burried the treasure. The party dug-out the present hoard, from only a few inches below the surface of the mound. This is the first hoard of its kind in Gorakhpur.

The hoard was kept in a new earthen pot, the original pot having been broken and thrown away by Sukkhoo. The hoard consisted of 167 silver punch-marked coins and a piece of 10 np which Sukkhoo had added to the treasure from his pocket, while replacing it, probably as a self-imposed fine for keeping the treasure.

Obverse Symbols

As many as seventy-nine marks have been identified on the obverse of these coins. The symbols can be studied from different angles. The structure of the symbol and its sources is one angle. The vegetable and animal kingdoms, objects of land, water and sky all have contributed to the component parts of the symbol-structure. Again, some structures are products purely of the human sense of symmetry. The function of the symbol on the coin is another consideration. Every symbol has a particular place in the symbol-group and therefore the symbols may easily be distinguished as first symbol, second symbol and so on. In appendix 'B' we have noted the place of every symbol. Then, there is a third consideration, viz., the meaning of the symbol or what is called the problem of symbolism. This last aspect of study is quite absorbing and will be taken up separately in a subsequet study. We give below only some observations on these symbols.

There are two varieties of the sun-symbol **1a** and **1b** (**Pl. I**). They figure on all classes of coins promiscuously and the difference in these two varities does not seem to have any significance. The *Shaḍara-Chakra* or the six-armed symbol found on these coins is of fifteen varieties, symbols 2a-2o (**Pl. I**). On the obverse of six coins (Nos. 32-37) a particular variety of *Shaḍara-Chakra* symbol **2i** (**Pl. I**), is found constituting *two loops attached to a handle, a knob-like object and a beetle placed between three arrows round a circle with dot.* These coins are of a known variety[1] being the same as *Patraha* II. X. h; *BMC*, 2, V. C.; D. P. 24 Al and *APGM*, III. E. 1.; but it is significant to note that the second-symbol as found on this variety of coins in the present hoard is slightly different from the one noticed by scholars on this variety of coins from other sources. The symbol *stag before a twig and an object at the back* is a well-known fifth symbol but its several variants have not been noticed by scholars. On the basis of the differences in the twigs and the objects on the back, we may distinguish three definite

1. While referring to previous works the following abbreviations are used :—

Patraha	=	Patraha Hoard, (*MASI.*, No. 62)
BMC.	=	*Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum (Coins of Ancient India).*
D.P.	=	Durga Prasad's Classification (*NS.*, Vol. XLV)
APGM.	=	*The Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* (Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series No. 1)
Walsh	=	Punch-Marked coins from Taxila (*MASI.* No. 59)
Gokulavana	=	Gokulavana Hoard found in Sultanpur (*JNSI.* Vol. XXI, pp. 116-117)

varieties of this symbol **23a-23c (Pl. I)**. One of the obverse symbols (**52, Pl. I**) are seen perhaps for the first time on the coins of this hoard. Symbol **54** (**Pl. I**) may be a new symbol or the remains of the symbol *goat with a cluster of five dots at the back standing before a tree in railing* (Symbol 126, *APGM.*, Pl. II). One symbol could not be restored completely and is thus given in its incomplete form (**55, Pl. I**).

Reverse Marks

There are a large number of marks on the reverse of the coins. It is not easy to identify all of them. Forty-three of these marks have, however, been identified as given on **Pl. II**. A comparison of these marks with those found on the punch-marked coins of other hoards will be attempted separately in a subsequent study, but it may be pointed out here that certain theories propounded on the relation of the reverse marks with mark or marks on the obverse will have to be revised in the light of the present hoard. We mention here only one example. Dr. P. L. Gupta has derived the conclusion that the reverse marks on the Maurya coins are of two types 'original' and 'counter-struck' and that the 'original marks were punched along with the obverse marks, and *are of the same size as the marks on the obverse*'.[1] Several Mauryan coins of the present hoard (e. g. Nos. 84-89) have *caduceus* on both the sides, obverse as well as the reverse. It is clear from these coins that the size of *caduceus* is not the same on the two sides, the reverse *caduceus* being invariably smaller and thinner in size. Therefore, only on the basis of equality in size, it is not safe to think that these marks were punched simultaneously both on the obverse and the reverse.

Classification

The system of classification followed here is based upon the place of a symbol in a symbol-group. Sun and *shadara-chakra* figure on the obverse of almost all the coins except those of classes XVI and XVII. They are taken to be the first and second symbols respectively. The remaining symbols, excluding 7, 12, 24 and 49 (**Pl. I**), have been identified as third or class symbols, fourth or group symbols and fifth or variety symbols. Mark 49 singly and marks 7, 12 and 24 collectively replace the first three symbols in the symbol-group. Thus, various classes, groups and varieties have been distinguished. One class may have several groups and one group may have several varieties. This system of classification, proposed by Dr. P. L. Gupta[2], is scientific and fits in also with the considerations of fabric and reverse marks etc.

1. *JNSI*, Vol. X, p. 48.
2. *Ibid*, Vol. XII, pp. 136-140; *APGM*, p. 64

The classes have been arranged below more or less in a sequence but I have intentionally not grouped them into fixed periods. This is because of the fact that, although some classes are known to be pre-Mauryan or Mauryan, there are several others whose position on the chronological scale is doubtful in the present state of our knowledge. In his work *The Punch-Marked Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum* published in 1960, P. L. Gupta has arranged the various classes of punch-marked coins into five chronological periods. But there is clearly a confusion about these so called 'periods.' He has himself noted that the coins classified by him under period IV are 'intermediatory between the coins of periods II and III'[1]. As the period II denotes late pre-Mauryan and period III Mauryan, one fails to understand what Dr. Gupta means by such a statement. Again, it causes surprise when he notes further that 'period V is tentatively attributed to a variety of coins' which 'may belong to period III or to a later period'.[2] It is evident that the so called 'periods' of Gupta are no periods at all. They are, at the most, only categories of classes.

There are seventeen classes of coins in the present hoard. Coins of one or more groups are represented in every class and similarly one or more varieties figure in every group.

Class I

The class having a *hare to right with three taurines* **27, Pl. I**) as its distinguishing mark is represented by a single coin (No. 30). It has a *palm tree* **(35, Pl. I)** and an *elephant to right* **(22b Pl. I)** respectively as its group and variety marks. This is a known variety being the same as Walsh, B (b) 1 ; Patraha, III. VIII. 2 ; *BMC*, 6. V. a, c ; DP, $28A_1$ and *APGM*, I.D. 1.

Class II

The class with a *bull to right on a five-arched hill* symbol (**4, Pl I**) as its mark has two coins (Nos. 3 and 31). Both of them have a *triangle-headed standard with four taurines* **(32, Pl. I)** as their group mark and an *elephant to right* **(22b, Pl. I)** as their variety mark. Thus they belong to one and the same variety which is the same as Walsh Cl ; Patraha, III. II. b ; *BMC*, 6. II. e ; DP, $25A_1$, and *APGM*, II. F. 1.

Class III

Two coins (Nos. 1 and 2) are of the class which is distinguished by a *tree on a five-arched hill* **(5, Pl. I)**. Both of

1. *Ibid*, p. 65.
2. *JNSI*, Vol. VIII, p. 128.

them belong to one and the same group with a *bull to right* (**21a, Pl. I**) as their fourth mark, but they are of different varieties.

Var. a. Coin No. 1 has an *elephant to right* (**22a, Pl. I**) as its fifth mark and is the same as Walsh, L1 ; Patraha, III. VIII.a ; *BMC*, 6. VI.a ; DP, 17A_3 and *APGM*, II. G(a). 1.

Varb. b. Coin No. 2 has a *circle with a dot flanked by two taurines* (**34, Pl. I**) as its variety mark and is the same as Walsh, L2 and *BMC*, 6. VI. b.

Class IV

The class with a *hare to right on a five-arched hill* (**3, Pl. I**) as its distinguishing mark has ten coins (Nos. 4-13) in this hoard. These coins are distinguishable into two groups based on their fourth marks.

GROUP A. The first nine coins belong to one group with a *bull to right* (**21a, Pl. I**) as their fourth mark. Coin No. 12 has indistinct fifth mark. It is not possible, therefore, to assign it to a particular variety. The remaining coins are of the following four varieties :

Var. a. Coin No. 4 has a *circle with a dot flanked by two taurines* (**34 Pl. I**) as its fifth mark and is of the same variety as Walsh, A7 ; Patraha, III. IV. d ; *BMC*, 6. III. d ; DP, 29A2 and *APGM*, II. H(a). 3.

Var. b. Coin Nos. 5 and 6 have a *thick wavy line* (**51, Pl. I**) as their variety mark and are the same as Walsh, A5 ; Patraha, III. IV. f ; *BMC*, 6. III. f and DP, 29A_4.

Var. c. Four coins (Nos. 7-10) have an *elephant to right* (**22b, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark and are of the same variety as Walsh, A1 ; Patraha, III. IV.b ; *BMC*, 6. III. C ; DP, 29A_2 and *APGM*, II. H(a). 2.

Var. d Coin No. 11 has *four beetles in a pond* (**45, Pl. I**) as its fifth mark. This coin is of the same variety as Walsh, A4 ; Patraha, III. IV.h; *BMC*, 6. III.g ; DP, 29A_5 ; *APGM*, II.H(a). 7.

GROUP B : Of this class is represented by a single coin (No. 13) which has a *frog* (**48, Pl. I**) as its group mark. The fifth mark on this coin is indistinct. This is a coin of group II. H.(b). of *APGM*.

Class V

This class is distinguished by the mark *six-arched hill* (**7, Pl. I**). Two coins (Nos. 16 and 17) belong to this class. Both of them are of one and the same variety with

two beetles in a rectangle (**47, Pl. I**) and *two beetles in a S-shaped curve* (symbol 46) respectively as their fourth and fifth marks. They are of the same variety as Walsh, I 1 ; Patraha, III. VIII. i ; *BMC*, 6. VII. e and *APGM*, II. A. 1. The coin No. 16 has an extra sixth mark *four dotted circles in a long rectangle* (**53, Pl. I**) also on its obverse.

Class VI

The mark *three-arched gate* (**8, Pl. I**) is the distinguishing mark of this class. Twelve coins (Nos. 18-29) that belong to this class have all a *hare with a pup in its mouth* (**26, Pl. I**) as their fourth mark and thus constitute only one group. The fifth mark on these coins (Nos. 27 and 21) is not clear and that on coin No. 29 it is totally missing. Their variety cannot be ascertained. The remaining coins are of the following four varieties :

Var. a. Two coins (Nos. 18-19) have a *tree in a railing* of six squares (**17, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. They constitute a variety which is the same as Patraha, II. XI. f; *BMC*, 2. VIII. b; DP, 39 B_3 and *APGM*, II. K. 2.

Var. b. Two coins (Nos. 20-21) have a *bud-like object flanked by flags and semi-circles* (**42 Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. They are of the same variety as Patraha, II. XI. b; *BMC*, 2. VII. e.g.; DP, 29B_2 and *APGM*, II. K. 7.

Var. c. Three coins (Nos. 22-24) have *caduceus with its circles placed at a distance* (**36a, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. They represent the same variety as Patraha, II. XI. c; *BMC*, 2. VII. h; DP, 39B_2 and *APGM*, II. K. 4.

Var. d. Two coins (Nos. 25-26) have *four taurines around a solid circle* (**29, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. They constitute the same variety as Patraha, II. XI. d; *BMC*, 2. VII. k and *APGM*, II. K. 3.

Class VII

Two coins (Nos. 48-49) belong to class VII and have a *bow with an arrow and a taurine below* (**38, Pl. I**) as its distinguishing mark. Both of them have a *caduceus with its circles placed one over the other* (**36b, Pl. I**) and a *four-squared square* (**14, Pl. I**) respectively, as their fourth and fifth marks. They constitute a variety which is the same as Patraha, II. V. J ; *BMC*, 2. IX. a-c; DP, 31 A_1 and *APGM*, IV. A. 1.

Class VIII

Twenty one coins (Nos. 50-70) belong to this class which is distinguished by the class mark *tree on a railing with a taurine on either side* (**16, Pl. I**). All the coins of this

class have *caduceus* as their fourth mark but as the *caduceus* symbol is of two kinds, they may be separated into two groups:

GROUP A: First fifteen coins of this class form a group with one, probably an earlier variety of *caduceus* (**36a, Pl. I**). Broadly speaking, these coins are of the following two varieties.

Var. a. Four coins (Nos. 50-53) have *four-squared square with dumb-bells and taurines placed diagonally* (**13, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. These coins are, thus, of the same variety as Patraha, II. V. i; *BMC*, 2. IV. g; DP, 30 A_1 and *APGM*, IV. B. 2.

Var. b. Eleven coins (Nos. 54-64) have a *stag before a twig and an object at the back* as their fifth mark and constitute a variety which is the same as Patraha, II. V. a-h; *BMC*, 2. IV. c-h; DP, 2 A_3 and *APGM*, IV. B. 1. The coins of this variety are very interesting. A minute observation of these coins discloses that they may be further separated into sub-varieties. The second symbol (**2d, Pl. I**) on the first five coins (Nos. 54-58) is different from that which figures on the remaining coins (Nos. 59-64) of this group which have the symbol (**2e, Pl. I**) as their second mark. Again, there are marked differences in the twigs and the objects at the back of the stag and on the basis of these differences, three variants of this symbol (**23a, 23b & 23c, Pl. I**) may be clearly recognised. The coins of this variety may, therefore, be distinguished into the following four sub-varieties:

Var. b_1. Four coins (Nos. 54-57) are of one type having symbols 21 and 23b (**Pl. I**) respectively as their second and fifth marks.

Var. b_2. Coin No. 58 represents another sub-variety for, although it has the same second symbol as that on the coins of the previous variety, its fifth mark (**23c, Pl. I**) is different.

Var. b_3. Coin Nos. 59-60 have symbols 2e and 23a (**Pl. I**) as their second and fifth marks both of which are different from the corresponding marks on the coins of the sub-varieties b_1 and b_2.

Var. b_4. Four coins (Nos. 61-64) have the same second symbol as that on the coins of Var. b_3, but their fifth mark is different from the corresponding mark of var. b_3 and resembles the fifth mark found on the coins of Var. b_1.

GROUP B: The second group of class VIII is distinguished by the second variety of the *caduceus* (**36b, Pl. I**). Six coins (Nos. 65-70) of the present hoard belong to this group. Two variants of the *stag before a twig* symbol are

found as fifth mark on these coins, hence they may be grouped into two sub-varieties.

Var. a_1. Coins Nos. 65, 66 and 70 form one sub-variety by having the symbol 23c (**Pl. I**) as their fifth mark.

Var. a_2. The remaining three coins of this group (Nos. 67-69) form another sub-variety and have symbol 23b (**Pl. I**) as their fifth mark.

Class IX

This class, which has a *bull to right with a fish on the back and another under the mouth* (**44, Pl. I**) as its distinguishing mark, is represented by six coins (Nos. 39-44). The interesting feature of the six-armed symbol varying within a class, as noticed in case of Class VIII, continues to be a feature of the present class too. On the basis of their fourth marks, the coins of this class may be distinguished into two groups :

GROUP A : Coin Nos. 39-42 fall into one group, for all of them have the same variant of *caduceus* (**36b, Pl. I**) on them which characterises their group. The fifth mark on coin No. 41 is indistinct. The other coins of this group are of the following two varieties :

Var. a. Coin Nos. 39 and 40 constitute one variety with symbol 23a (**Pl. I**) as their variety mark. This variety is the same as *BMC*, 2. IV. k-1 and Gokulavana, var. 11. The six-armed symbol on these two coins is not the same. Coin No. 39 has the symbol 2d (**Pl. I**) while coin No. 40 has the symbol 2e (**Pl. I**). They may be taken to represent two sub-varieties of coins.

Var. b. Coin No. 42 has *two dots placed side by side and each surrounded by five dots* (**55, Pl. I**) as its fifth mark. This may be a new variety. If, however, these dots are remains of a *goat standing before a tree in railing with a cluster of five dots at the back*, this coin will represent the same variety as Patraha, II. VI. b ; DP, 33 A_2 ; Gokulavana, var. 10 and *APGM*, IV. C. 1.

GROUP B :

Two coins (Nos. 43-44) have *four taurines* round a solid circle (**29, Pl. I**) as their fourth mark. The fifth mark on coin No. 43 has symbol 54 (**Pl. I**) as its fifth mark. This is either a new variety or the same as Patraha, II. VI. c ; *BMC*, 2. IV. m ; Gokulavana, var. 13 and *APGM*, IV.D. 1.

Class X

Coin No. 14 is different from all other coins of this hoard and is the sole representative of its class. It has, besides the

sun and *shadara-chakra, a six-arched hill* with *dumb-balls* (**10, Pl. I**) and *a thick S-shaped mark in a square* (**52, Pl. I**). It is a coin of the same group os Bahal, Coin No. 40 but represents a different, probably a new variety.

Class XI

The class distinguished by the mark *three-arched hill with three taurines over it* (**11, Pl. I**) is represented by one coin (No. 15). It has respectively the symbols 29 and 33 (**Pl. I**) as its group and variety marks. Coins of this group and variety belong to other classes also e. g., *APGM*, IV. D. 2, but under the present class, it constitutes a variety which is the same as Gokulavana, var. 22.

Class XII

Six coins (Nos. 32-37) of the hoard are of one class and have a *flask-like object surrounded by six taurines* (**30a, Pl. I**) as their class mark. All these coins have *four beetles in a pond* (**45, Pl. I**) as their group mark and *stylized branch of a tree* (**20, Pl. I**) as their variety mark. Thus they belong to the same variety as Patraha, II. X. h; *BMC*, 2. V. C; DP, $24A_1$ and *APGM*, III, E. 1. These coins, although of a well-known variety, are significant for the particular type of *Shaḍara-chakra* found on these coins is different from that which is reported to accompany this symbol group. It is not the type *three loops with handle placed between arrows* as has been identified on this variety of coins by scholars but *a loop with handle, a knob-like object and a beetle between three arrows* (**21, Pl. I**) which figures on these coins.

Class XIII

The mark *six taurines round a solid circle* (**30b, Pl. I**) is the distinguishing mark of this class which is represented by a single coin (No. 38) of this hoard. It has symbols 45 and 55 (**Pl. I**) respectively as its group and variety marks. The coin belongs to the same variety as *BMC*, 2. V. d. The symbol 55 which is shown on **Pl. I** in its incomplete form is perhaps the *bird on a tree symbol* as seen on *BMC*, p. 42.

Class XIV

Coin No. 45 is the sole representative of the class distinguished by a *human figure in a dancing or fighting pose* (**50a, Pl. I**). It has a *leaf-less tree in a four-squared railing* (**18, Pl. I**) as its group mark and a *bull to right* (**21a, Pl. I**) as its variety mark. It represents the same variety as Gokulavana, var. 25 and *APGM*, III. G. 1.

Class XV

Ninety one coins (Nos. 71-161) have the well-known *crescent on a three-arched hill* symbol as their class mark. On the basis

of their fourth and fifth marks, these coins are further classified into several groups and varieties. Nine coins (Nos. 153-161) of this class have indistinct fourth and fifth marks. Their reverse marks also are not clear. It is not possible, therefore, to assign them to any particular groups and varieties. The remaining coins of this group belong to the following seven groups :

GROUP A : Six coins (Nos. 71-76) have four *beetles in a pond* (**45, Pl. I**) as their fourth mark. The fifth symbol on two coins (Nos. 71 and 72) is not clear enough to be identified. The remaining coins are of two varieties :

Var. a. Three coins (Nos. 73-75) have the *branch of a tree* as their fifth mark. These coins are of the same variety as Patraha, II. X. b; *BMC*, 2. V. a; D. P, 40 C_1 and *APGM*, III. A (b). 3. It is worth noting that the *tree branch* on coin 73 (**19 Pl. I**) is different than that on coins 74 and 75 (**20 Pl. I**).

Var. b. Coin No. 76 has a *bull to right* (**21a, Pl. I**) as its fifth mark and constitutes a different variety of Gronp A.

GROUP B : Thirteen coins (Nos. 77-89) have *caduceus* (**36b, Pl. I**) as their fourth or group mark. Two coins (Nos. 77 and 14) have no traces of the fifth mark. The remaining coins are of the following four varieties :

Var. a. Coin Nos. 78 and 79 have *four crescents round a solid circle* (**40a, Pl. I**) as their variety mark.

Var. b. Four coins (Nos. 80-83) have *three taurines round the head of a tortoise* (**28, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. They represent the same variety as Patraha, II. III. c; *BMC*, 2. III. b; D. P, 40 A_{11} and Bairat[1] Coin No. 7.

Var. c. Coin No. 85 has a *stag before a twig with an object at the back* (**23b, Pl. I**) as its fifth mark and represents the same variety as *BMC*, 2. IV. b.

Var. d. Four coins (Nos. 86-89) have *triskelis with arms to right* (**41-41b, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. They represent the same variety as Patraha, II. IV. C. and *APGM*, III. A (h). 3.

GROUP C : Twenty coins (Nos. 90-109) form one group with *three branches of a tree at the corner of a railing* (**15, Pl. I**) as their fourth mark. These coins may be classified further into the following four varieties :

Var. a. Coin No. 91 has for its fifth mark the symbol 55 (**Pl. I**). This mark is quite clear on the lower left corner of the coin but it is partly punched and therefore the exact structure of the symbol cannot be restored with certainty.

1. *Ibid*, p. 26.

Var. b. Sixteen coins (Nos. 92-107) have a *bull to right with a taurine under its mouth* (**21b, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. They represent a variety which is the same as Patraha, II. I. a; *BMC*, 2. I. a; DP, $40J_1$ and *APGM*, II. A (c). 1.

Var. c. Coin No. 108 has a *human figure* (**50b, Pl. I**) as its fifth mark. It is a rare variety of punch-marked coins. A coin of this variety is known from a Taxila hoard, now in Banaras Hindu University.[1]

Var. d. Coin No. 109 has as its fifth mark a *triangle headed standard under an arch flanked by a taurine on either side.* It is a variant of symbol 32 (**Pl. I**). This represents the variety *BMC*, 2. I. d; DP, 40 J_2 and *APGM*, III. A. (c)2.

GROUP D : Thirteen coins (Nos. 110-122) belong to this group with *peacock on a five-arched hill* (**6, Pl. I**) as their fourth mark. Three of these coins (Nos. 110, 121 and 122) have indistinct fifth marks and their variety cannot be ascertained. The remaining ten coins belong to a single variety and have a *steel-yard* (**43, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. They are of the same variety as Patraha, II. a-b ; *BMC* 2. II. a-b ; DP, $40B_1$ and *APGM*, III. A (d). 1.

GROUP E : Seven coins (Nos. 123-129) constitute a group with a *palm in a square* (symbol 37) as their fourth mark. Six coins of this group are of one variety and one coin is of another variety.

Var. a. Coin Nos. 123-128 have a *bull to the right with taurine under its mouth* as their fifth mark. They represent the same variety as Patraha, II. VIII. b ; *BMC*, 2. IV. v ; DP, 40G. and *APGM*, III. A (e). 1.

Var. b. Coin No. 129 has *a human figure on a platform with two taurines placed on either side* (**31, Pl. I**) as its fifth mark. The symbol seems to be an incomplete form of the symbol in which the human figure is placed on a pole in a railing flanked by taurines. Thus it represents a known variety being the same as Patraha, II. VIII a ; *BMC*, 2. IV. u ; DP, $40G_1$ and *APGM*, III. A (e). 2.

GROUP F :

Eighteen coins (Nos. 130-147) constitute a group with a *hare with a pup in the mouth, holding the pup at the back* (**26, Pl. I**) as their common fourth mark. Coin Nos. 131 and 143-145 have indistinct fifth mark on them. The remaining coins may be classified into the following two varieties :

1. Ibid, XIII, P. 59, Pl. III. 6.

Var. a. Twelve coins (Nos. 139 and 132-142) form one group having a *bud-like object with flags and semi-circles on either side* (**42, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark. This is the same variety as Patraha II. XI. a ; *BMC*, 2. VII a-d ; DP, $40H_1$ and *APGM*, III. A (a). 2.

Var. b. Coin Nos. 146 and 147 are representatives of a different variety and have an *elephant to right* (**22a, Pl. I**) as their variety mark. They constitute the same variety as Patraha, II. XI. i ; *BMC*, 1. I. a-b ; DP, $40H_3$ and *APGM*, III. A (a). 1.

GROUP G :

Five coins (Nos. 148-152) have a *tree on a four-squared railing* (**18, Pl. I**) as their fourth mark. The fifth mark on coin No. 148 is indistinct. The rest of the coins may be grouped into the following three varieties which seem to be new to our knowledge.

Var. a. Two coins (Nos. 149 and 150) have an *arrow with a bow and a dot on either side* (**39, Pl. I**) as their fifth mark and form the first variety of this group.

Var. b. Coin No. 151 has *four crescents round a circle* (**40b, Pl. I**) as its fifth mark and constitutes the second variety of this group.

Var. c. Coin No. 152 has a *bull to right* (**21a, Pl. I**) on it and constitutes the third variety of this group.

Class XVI

Three coins (Nos. 162-164) constitute a class of their own. These coins do not have the usual first three symbols on them. The place of the usual symbols on these coins is occupied by the mark of *three human figures with dots* (**49, Pl. I**). They may be further classified into two groups :

GROUP A : Coin No. 162 has a *hare with a pup in its mouth* (**26, Pl. I**) as its group mark and a *bud-like object flanked by flags and semi-circle on both sides* (**42, Pl. I**) as its variety mark. It represents the same variety as *BMC*, 2. I. h. The coin is similar to the coins of variety XV. F. a. of the present hoard except that the usual symbol on it has been substituted by the *three human figures.*

GROUP B : Two coins (Nos. 163 and 164) belong to the second group of this class. They have the symbol *three branches of a tree on the corner of a railing* (**15, Pl. I**) and a *spider with an elephant* (**25, Pl. I**) respectively as their group and variety mark. Thus, they represent the same variety

as Patraha, II. I..f ; *BMC*, 2. I. g ; DP, $42A_1$ and *APGM*, III. B(b). 1.

Class XVII

Three coins (Nos. 165-167) have the marks of *three spear-heads over an oval placed on two posts* (**12, Pl. I**), *six-arched hill* (**7, Pl. I**) and a *pup on a railing pole* (**24, Pl. I**) as their first three marks. These symbols have taken the place of the usual first three symbols on the punch-marked coins. Thus they form a class of their own.

These coins may be further classified into groups and varieties :

GROUP A : Coin No. 165 has a *caduceus* (**36b, Pl. I**) and *three taurines round the head of a tortoise* (**28, Pl. I**) as its fifth mark. But for the first three marks, the coin is similar to the coins of variety XV. B. b of the present hoard.

GROUP B : Coin No. 166 has *three branches of a tree on the corner of a railing* (**15, Pl. I**) and a *spider with an elephant* (**25, Pl. I**) as its fourth and fifth marks. The coin is similar to the coins of varieties XV. C. and XVI. B of the present hoard ; only its first three usual symbols are different.

GROUP C : Coin No. 167 is also the sole representative of its group and variety among the coins of class XVII. It has a *peacock on a five arched-hill* (**6, Pl. I**) and a *steel-yard* (**43, Pl. I**) respectively as its group and variety marks. But for the first three symbols, the coin is similar to the coins of variety XV. D. of the present hoard.

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE COINS IN PARASĀ DAYĀRĀMA HOARD

Note:—The obverse and reverse symbols refer to the symbols illustrated respectively on **Pl. I** and **Pl. II** accompanying this paper. Question mark after a symbol (2e ?, 8 ? etc.) means that the symbol is identified tentatively. Question marks standing independently (?) denote that the symbol is indistinct and unidentifiable. Long dash mark (—) indicates that the symbol is totally absent. Weights are given in grammes and sizes in centimeters. The measurements are of one or two sides in case of respectively the square and rectangular coins ; and in case of the circular and elleptical coins, the measurements are respectively of the diameter and the major and minor axes. Following abbreviations have been used to indicate the

shapes of the coins ; C = circular ; E = elleptical ; R = rectangular ; R_1, R_2, R_3, R_4 = rectangular with respectively one, two, three or four corners clipped off ; S=square ; S_1, S_2, S_3, S_4 = square with respectively one, two, three or four corners clipped off.

Coin No.	Shape	Size	Weight	Obverse symbols	Reverse No. of Marks	Reverse Symbols (identified)	Plate Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	R_3	2·0 × 1·6	3.06	1b,2a,5,21a,22a	8	1,7,10,14	**Pl. III. 1**
2	R	1·7 × 1·3	3·17	1a.2a,5,21a,34	1	11	
3	R_2	2·1 × 1·5	3·07	1a,2b,4.?,22b	3	12,25	**Pl. III. 2**
4	R_3	2·1 × 1·4	3·30	1a,2b,3,21a,34	1	25	
5	R_3	1·8 × 1.7	3·16	1b,2b,3,21a,51	5	13a	
6	R_2	1·9 × 1·6	3·16	1b,2b,3,21a,51	6	2,3	**Pl. III. 3**
7	R_4	2·0 × 1·8	2·91	1b,2b,3,21a,22b	6	4,10,33	
8	R_3	2·0 × 1·6	3·01	1b,2b,3,21a,22b	5	25	
9	R_2	1·9 × 1·3	3·11	1b,2b,3,21a,22b	6	1,11,15b	**Pl III. 4**
10	R_2	1·9 × 1·6	3·15	1b,2b,3,21a,22b	5	15a	
11	R_2	1·8 × 1·3	3·35	1b,2b,3,21a,45	2		
12	R_3	1·8 × 1·5	3·25	1b,2b,3,21a,?	3	35	
13	R_2	1·4 × 1·2	1·60*	1b,2b,3,48,?	2		
14	C	1·4	3·26	1a,2n,10,52	2	35	**Pl. III, 5**
15	R_1	1·4 × 1·3	3·27	1b,2j,11,33,29	4	5,15a,35	**Pl. III. 6**
16	R_4	2·0 × 1·4	3·11	1b,2m,7,47,46	3	14,25	
17	E	2·1 × 1·6	3·12	1b,2m,7,47,46 and additional 53	3		

* This coin is broken.

Coin No.	Shape	Size	Weight	Obverse symbols	No. of Reverse Marks	Symbols (identified)	Plate Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
18	E	1·8 × 1·6	2·90	1b,2c,8,26,17	2	8	**Pl. III. 7**
19	R	1·6 × 1·0	3·21	1b,—,8,26?,17	4	5,26	
20	R_2	1·5 × 1·2	3·25	1b,2c,8,26,42	2	19	
21	R	1·3 × 1·1	3·22	1b,2c,8,26,42	2	28	
22	R_2	1·4 × 1.2	3·36	1b,2c,8,26,36a	2	28	
23	R_2	1·6 × 1·5	3·27	1b,2c,8,26,36a	3	10	
24	R_3	1·7 × 1·6	3·22	1b,2c,8?,26,36a	4	15b,35	
25	R	1·6 × 1·2	3·13	1a,2c,8?,26,29	3	24c,28	
26	E	1·8 × 1·5	3·23	1b,2c,8,26,29	2		
27	R_1	1·6 × 1·3	3·11	1b,2c,8,26,?	3	20	
28	E	1.7 × 1·4	3·36	1b,2c,8,26,?	2	35	
29	S	1.1	3·26	1b,2c,8?,26,—	4	3,26	
30	R_3	2·2 × 1·3	3·18	1b,2b,27,35,22b	3	17,25	**Pl. III. 8**
31	R_2	2·1 × 1·3	3·09	1a,2b,4,32,22b	4		
32	S_2	1·4	3·32	1b,2i,30a,45,20	1	6	
33	R_3	1·5 × 1·2	3·35	1b,2i,30a,45,20	2	18	
34	R_2	1·7 × 1·1	3·31	1b,2i,30a,45,20	2	21a	
35	S_4	1·4	3·35	1b,2i,30a,45,20	2		
36	S_1	1·3	3·35	1b,2i,30a,45,20	2	35	
37	C	1·6	3·34	1b,2i,30a,45,20	2		

Coin No.	Shape	Size	Weight	Obverse symbols	No. of Marks	Reverse Symbols (identified)	Plate Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
38	R_2	1·7 × 1·2	3·20	1b,2o,30b,45,55?	2	23	**Pl. III. 9**
39	R_2	1.5 × 1.2	3.22	1a,2d,44,36b,23a	4	31	
40	S_1	1.3	3.21	1b,2e,44,36b,23a	2	31	
41	E	1.4 × 1.3	3.27	1b,—,44,36b,?	2		
42	S_1	1.2	3.29	1a,2f,44,36b,54	2	19,34	
43	E	1.5 × 1.2	3.35	1a,2f,44,29,54	1	9	**Pl. III. 10**
44	E	1.3 × 1.2	3.20	1b,2f,44,29,?	2	9	**Pl. III. 11**
45	R_2	1.6 × 1.3	3.20	1b,21,50a,18,21a	1	29	
46	C	1.4	3.16	1b,21?,—,29,—	1	9	
47	C	1.6	3.16	1b,21,—,29,—	2	15a	
48	R_1	1.9 × 1.1	3.11	1b,2g,38,36b,14	3	21a	
49	R_1	1.6 × 1.3	3.17	1a,2g,38,36b,14	3		**Pl. III. 12**
50	R_1	1.4 × 1.1	3.18	1b,2h,16,36a,13	2	35	
51	R_1	1.3 × 1.1	3.26	1b,2h,16,36a,13	2		**Pl. III. 13**
52	R_2	1.5 × 1.3	3.22	1b,2h,16,36a,13	1	35	
53	R	1.3 × 1.2	3.21	1b,2h,16?,36a,13	3	14	
54	R_1	1.4 × 1.1	3.10	1a,2d,16,36a,23b	3	36	**Pl. III. 14**
55	R_1	1.5 × 1.3	3.26	1a,2d,16,36a,23b	4	13b,31	
56	R	1.3 × 1.2	3.10	1a,2d,16,36a,23b	1	36	
57	S_1	1.2	3.26	1b,2d,16,36a,23b	2	36	

Coin No.	Shape	Size	Weight	Obverse symbols	No. of Marks	Reverse Symbols (identified)	Plate Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
58	R_2	1.5 × 1.2	3.21	1b,2d,16,36a,23c	1	31	
59	R	1.4 × 1.1	3.26	1a,2e,16,36a,23a	2	36	**Pl. III. 15**
60	S	1.3	3.22	1b,2e,16,36a,23a	3		
61	E	1.6 × 1.3	3.12	1a,2e?,16,36a,23b	1	36	
62	R_1	1.4 × 1.2	3.24	1a,2e,16,36a,23b	1		**Pl. III. 16**
63	E	1.5 × 1.4	3.14	1b,2e?,16,36a,23b	1	36	
64	E	1·5 × 1.4	3.19	1b,2e?,16,36a,23b	1		**Pl. III, 17**
65	E	1.5 × 1.3	3.32	1a,2e?,16,36b,23c	2	36	
66	C	1.5	3.26	1b,2e,16,36b,23c	1	31	
67	E	1.6 × 1.1	3.25	1b,2e,16,36b,23b?	3	7,7	**Pl. III. 18**
68	C	1.4	3.26	1a,2e?,16,36b,23b	2	31	
69	E	1.5 × 1.3	3.27	1b,2e?,16,36b,23b	3	14,31	
70	R_1	1.4 × 1.1	3.26	1b,2e?,16,36b,23c	1	36	
71	R_1	1.3 × 1.2	3.26	1a,2k,9,45,?	3	19,31	
72	R_3	1.3 × 1.1	3.31	1a,21,9,45,?	1		**Pl. III. 19**
73	R_1	1.4 × 1.2	3.01	1b,21,9,45,19	3	24c,35	
74	R_1	1.4 × 1.0	3.31	1b,21,9,45,20	1		
75	R_1	1.3 × 1.2	3.32	1b,21,9,45,20	3	36	**Pl. III. 20**
76	R_1	1.6 × 1.1	3.17	1b,21,9,45,21a	—		
77	R_1	1.2 × 1.1	3.16	1a,2k,9,36b,—	2	36	

Coin No.	Shape	Size	Weight	Obverse symbols	Reverse No. of Marks	Reverse Symbols (identified)	Plate Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
78	R_1	1.3 × 1.2	3.25	1a,2k,9,36b,40a	1	36	
79	R	1.7 × 1.2	3.27	1b,2k,9,36b,40a	2	36	**Pl. III. 21**
80	C	1.5	3.27	1a,21,9,36b,28	3	30,36	
81	C	1.5	3.49	1a,21,9,36b,28	3	24a,31	
82	R_1	1.8 × 1.1	3.20	1b,21,9,36b,28	3	7,31,32c	
83	R_1	1.8 × 1.1	3.20	1b,21,9,36b,28	2	7	
84	S_2	1.3	3.26	1b,21,9,36b,—	1	31	
85	E	1.4 × 1.2	3.25	1b,21,9,36b,23b	1	31	
86	R_2	1.4 × 1.3	3.31	1b,21,9,36b,41b	2	31	
87	E	1.5 × 1.4	3.20	1b,21,9,36b,41b	1	31	
88	E	1.5 × 1.4	3.29	1b,21,9,36b,41b	1	31	
89	S_1	1.3	3.26	1b,21,9,36b,41a	2	31	
90	E	1.5 × 1.4	3.21	1a,2k,?,15,25	1	27	
91	R	1.5 × 1.2	3.35	1a,2k,9,15,55	1		
92	R_1	1.8 × 1.3	2.90	1a,2k,9,15,21b	1	28	
93	R	1.6 × 1.3	3.00	1a,2k,9,15,21b	2	27	**Pl. III. 22**
94	S_2	1.6	3.29	1a,21,9,15,21b	2	28	
95	R	1.7 × 1.2	3.20	1a,21,9,15,21b	1	28	
96	R_2	1.6 × 1.3	3.33	1a,21,9,15,21b	1	28	
97	R_1	2.0 × 1.1	2.72	1b,21,9,15,21b	1	28	

Coin No.	Shape	Size	Weight	Obverse symbols	No. of Marks	Reverse Symbols (identified)	Plate Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
98	R_1	1.5 × 1.2	3.26	1b,21,9,15,21b	1	28	
99	R	1.5 × 1.3	3.26	1b,21,9,15,21b	1	28	
100	S	1.4	3.11	1b,21,9,15,21b	1	28	
101	R_1	1.8 × 1.2	3.11	1b,21,9,15,21b	2	28	
102	R_1	1.6 × 1.4	3.01	1b,21,9,15,21b	1	28	
103	R	1.5 × 1.3	3.11	1b,21,9,15,21b	1	28	
104	R_1	1.7 × 1.6	3.01	1b,21,9,15,21b	1	28	
105	R	1.6 × 1.4	2.76	1b,21,9,15,21b	1	28	
106	S_1	1.5	2.90	1b,21,9,15,21b	2	28	
107	C	1.6	3.24	1b,21,9,15,21b	2	28	
108	R_2	1.6 × 1.5	3.08	1b,21,9,15,50b	1	28	
109	R_2	1.6 × 1.4	3.10	1b,21,9,15,32?	1	28	
110	R_2	1.6 × 1.1	3.33	1b,2k,9,6, ?	1	36	
111	R	1.4 × 1.1	3.29	1a,2k,9,6,43	1	36	
112	R	1.4 × 1.1	3.46	1a,21,9,6,43	2	36	
113	R_1	1.7 × 1.1	3.35	1a,21,9,6,43	1	36	
114	S	1.4	3.20	1a,21,9,6,43	1	36	
115	R	1.3 × 1.2	3.09	1a,21,9,6,43	2	36	
116	R_2	1.5 × 1.2	3.34	1a,21,9,6,43	1	36	
117	E	1.6 × 1.5	3.35	1a,2 ,9,6,43	1	36	**Pl. III. 23**
118	R_3	1.6 × 1.3	2.99	1b,21,9,6,43	1	36	

Coin No.	Shape	Size	Weight	Obverse symbols	Reverse No. of Marks	Reverse Symbols (identified)	Plate Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
119	R_2	1.6 × 1.3	3.00	1b,21,9,6,43	2	36	
120	S_1	1.5	3.16	1b, ? ,9,6,43	1	36	
121	R_1	1.5 × 1.1	3.28	1b,21,9,6, ?	1	36	
122	S	1.3	3.28	1b,21,9,6, ?	3	36	
123	E	1.4 × 1.3	3.28	1a,2k,9,37,21b	1	9	
124	E	1.5 × 1.3	3.29	1a,2k,9,37,21b	1	16	
125	R_1	1.3 × 1.1	3.30	1a,21,9,37,21b	1	11	
126	R_2	1.6 × 1.3	3.30	1b,21,9,37,21b	3	9,11	**Pl. III 24**
127	R_2	1.7 × 1.2	3.35	1b,2k,9,37,21b	1	28	
128	S	1.4	3.34	1a,2l,9,37,21b?	1	9	
129	C	1.4	3.25	1b,2k,9,37,31	2	9	
130	R_1	1.2 × 1.1	2.25	1a,2k?,9,?,26,42	1	32c	
131	S_1	1.2	3.20	1a,2k,9?,26, ?	1		
132	S_1	1.2	3.21	1a,2k,9,26,42	2	10,28?	
133	S	1.1	3.16	1a,2k,9,26,42	1		
134	C	1.3	3.21	1a,2k,9,26,42	3	24c,32c	
135	S_3	1.2	3.26	1a,2k,9,26,42	3	24c,32a	
136	R	1.2 × 1.0	3.13	1a,2k,9,26,42	1	32b	
137	R_1	1.3 × 1.1	3.14	1a,2k,9,26,42	2	26?	
138	C	1.4	3.14	1a,21,9,26,42	2	26	**Pl. III. 25**
139	R	1.2 × 1.1	3.24	1a,21,9,26,42	2	26	

Coin No.	Shape	Size	Weight	Obverse symbols	No. of Marks	Reverse Symbols (identified)	Plate Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
140	E	1.4 × 1.2	3.26	1a,21,9,26,42	1		
141	E	1.4 × 1.3	3.24	1b,2k,9,26,42	3	24b	
142	R	1.5 × 0.9	3-11	1b,2k,9,26,42	2	24b	
143	R	1.3 × 1.0	3.21	1a,2k?,9,26,?	3	32c?	
144	S_2	1.2	3.27	1b,2k.9,26,?	1	35	
145	R_2	1.3 × 1.1	3.27	1b,2k,9,26,?	3	10,35?	
146	R_2	1.3 × 1.2	3.25	1b,2k,9,26,22a	2	21a,35	
147	R	1.4 × 1.2	3.39	1a,21,9,26,22a	2		
148	E	1.6 × 1.4	3.29	1a,2k,9,18,—	1	21b	
149	S_2	1.2	3.28	1a,21,9,18,39	1	21a	**Pl. III. 26**
150	R_1	1.3 × 1.1	3.27	1b,21,9,18,39	1		
151	R	1.2 × 1.0	3.31	1b,21,9,18,40b	2	21a,29	
152	S_1	1.2	3.32	1b,21,9?,18,21a	1		
153	R_3	1.4 × 1.1	3.31	1a,2k,9, ?, ?	1	21a?	
154	E	1.5 × 1.3	3.30	1a,2k,9, ?, ?	3	28?	
155	R	1.2 × 1.0	3 00	1a,21,9, ?, ?	1		
156	R_1	1.4 × 1.1	3.21	1a,21,9, ?, ?	2		
157	S_1	1.4	3.17	1a,21,9, ?, ?	1		
158	S_1	1.1	3.26	1a,21,9, ?, ?	1	28?	
159	R_2	1.3 × 1.0	3.26	1b,2k,9, ?, ?	3	36?	

Coin No.	Shape	Size	Weight	Obverse symbols	Reverse No. of Marks	Reverse Symbols (identified)	Plate Reference
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
160	C	1.3	3.34	1b,2k,9, ?, ?	2	35?	
161	C	1.3	3.17	1b,2k,9, ?, ?	4	24c?,26?	
162	C	1.4	3.16	49,26,42	3	22,32b	**Pl. III. 27**
163	R_1	2.4 × 1.0	3.15	49,15,25	1	28	**Pl. III. 28**
164	E	1.5 × 1.2	3.31	49,15,25	1	28?	
165	C	1.5	3.14	12,7,24,36b,28	4	24a,24c 31	**Pl. III. 29**
166	R	1.6 × 1.2	3.12	12,7,24,15,25	3	26,28	
167	R_2	1.3 × 1.2	3.14	12,7,24,6,43	1	36	**Pl. III. 30**

APPENDIX B

DIRECTORY OF SYMBOLS ON THE COINS OF PARASĀ DAYĀRĀMA

TABLE 1

OBVERSE SYMBOLS

Note :—Question Mark (?) in column 2 indicates that the place of the symbol is uncertain.

Symbol	Place in symbol group	Seen on the coins of Class	Symbol	Place in Symbol group	Seen on the coins of Class
1	2	3	1	2	3
1a, 1b	I	All except XVI & XVII	27	III	I
2a	II	III	28	V	XV & XVII
2b	II	I, II & IV	29	IV	IX & XI

Symbol	Place in symbol group	Seen on the coin of Class	Symbol	Place in symbol group	Seen on the coins of Class
1	2	3	1	2	3
2c	II	VI		& V	VI
2d	II	VIII & IX	30a	III	XII
2e	II	VIII & IX	30b	III	XIII
2f	II	IX	31	V	XV
2g	II	VII	32	IV	II
2h	II	VIII	33	V	XI
2i	II	XII	34	V	III & IV
2j	II	XI	35	IV	I
2k	II	XV	36a	IV	VIII
2l	II	XIV & XV		& V	VI
2m	II	V	36b	IV	VII, VIII, IX
2n	II	X			XV & XVII
2o	II	XIII	37	IV	XV
3	III	IV	38	III	VII
4	III	II	39	V	XV
5	III	III	40a	V	XV
6	IV	XV & XVII	40b	V	XV
7	III	V	41a	V	XV
7 (with 12 & 24)	I-III	XVII	41b	V	XV
8	III	VI	42	V	VI,XV&XVI
9	III	XV	43	V	XV & XVII

Symbol.	Place in symbol group	Seen on the coins of Class	Symbol	Place in symbol group	Seen on the coins of Class
1	2	3	1	2	3
10	?	X	44	III	XI
11	III	XI	45	IV	XII & XIII & V IV
12 (with 7&24)	I-III	XVII	46	V	V
13	V	VIII	47	IV	V
14	V	VII	48	IV	IV
15	IV	XV	49	I-III	XVI
16	III	VIII	50a	III	XIV
17	V	VI	50b	V	XV
18	IV	XIV	51	V	IV
19	V	XV	52	?	X
20	V	XII	53	VI	V
21a	V	XIV	54	V	IX
21b	V	XV	55	V	XIII
22a	V	III & IV			
22b	V	I, II & IV			
23a	V	VIII & IX			
23b	V	VIII & XV			
23c	V	VIII			
24 (with 7&12)	I-III	XVII			
25	V	XV,XV&XVII			
26	IV	VI,XV&XVI			

TABLE II

Reverse Symbols

Notes :—Question mark after a coin number (28?, 26? etc.) indicates that the corresponding reverse symbol is tentatively attributed to that coin.

Symbol	Seen on coins	Symbol	Seen on coins
1	1 and 9	19	2, 42 and 71
2	6	20	27
3	6 and 29	21a	27
4	7	21b	148
5	15 and 19	22	162
6	32	23	38
7	1, 67, 82 & 83	24a	81 and 165
8	18	24b	141 and 142
9	43, 44, 46, 123, 126 128 and 129	24c	25, 73, 134, 135, 161 and 165
10	1, 7, 23, 73, 132 and 145	25	3, 4, 8, 16 and 30
11	2, 9, 125 and 126		
12	3	26	19, 29, 137?, 138
13a	5		139, 161 and 166
13b	55		
14	1, 16, 53 and 69	27	90 and 93
15a	10, 15 and 47	28	21, 22, 25, 92, 94,
15b	9 and 24		109, 127, 132?

Symbol	Seen on coins	Symbol	Seen on coins
16	125		154?, 158?, 163,
17	30		164? and 166.
18	33	29	45 and 151
30	80	34	42
31	39, 40, 55, 58, 66, 68, 69, 71, 81, 82, 84-89 and 165	35	12, 14, 15, 24, 28, 36, 50, 52, 73, 144, 145? 146 and 160
32a	135	36	54, 56, 57,
32b	136		59, 61, 63,
32c	82, 130, 134 and 143?		65, 70, 75,
33	7		77-80, 110-122,
			159? and 167

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON AUDUMBARA COINAGE

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

The Audumbaras were an important people of ancient India and as such are frequently mentioned in literature. The *gaṇapāṭha* (*Rājanyādi-gaṇa*) on Pāṇini IV.2.53 refers to the Udumbaras in association with the people of Jālandhara among others. Patañjali[1] on Pāṇini, IV. 2.71, mentions a river called Udumbarāvatī which probably flowed through the Udumbara tetritory. In the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparva, 52.13), the Audumbaras are spoken of as one of the numerous peoples which brought presents to Yudhishṭhira. Varāhamihira (A. D. 505) places them in the Madhyadeśa along with the Kāpishṭhalas[2] and the Gajāhvayas.[3] Elsewhere,[4] the same author associates them with the country of Champa, most probably identical with the modern Chamba in Punjab. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*[5] (LVIII. 9) names the Udumbaras in association with the Kāpiṅgalas,[6] the Kurubāhyas and the Gajāhvayas. The provenances of their coins suggest their location 'in the area formed by the eastern part of the modern Kangra district, the Gurdaspur district and Hoshiarpur district, that is to say, the valley of the Beas, or perhaps the wider region between the upper Sutlej and the Ravi'.[7]

On the basis of the metals and shapes the Audumbara coins fall into two distinct groups; square copper and circular silver coins.[8] The former are slightly earlier in point of time and more numerous than the latter. The square copper issues are very interesting inasmuch as they show a common type and give us not only the names of the ruling chiefs responsible for issuing them but also that of the tribe to which they belonged.

1. *Mahābhāshya* (Nirnaya Sagar Press), IV, p. 180.
2. *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, XIV. 4 The Kāpishṭhalas are Arrian's Kambistholi, people of Kaithal in the Karnal district, Punjab. Cunningham's statement that Varāhamihira twice couples the Udumbaras with the Kāpishṭhalas is incorrect.
3. *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, XIV. 4. Gajāhvayas are the inhabitants of Hastināpura.
4. *Ibid.*, XVI. 3. For another reference to Udumbaras see *ibid*, V. 40.
5. Published by Manasukharāya Mor, Calcutta 1962.
6. Perhaps an error for Kāpishṭhalas.
7. Allan, *BMC, Ancient India*, p. lxxxvii.
8. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 66, Pl. IV; Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Report*, XIV, p. 116; Allan, *op. cit.*, pp. lxxxiii, 122 ff.

On their obverse we find a tree (*Udumbara* or fig-tree according to Cunningham) in an enclosure on left, forepart of an elephant to left on right, and an undulating line below, while the reverse side depicts a two or three-storied domed *stūpa* or temple[1] and a trident with an axe on right. The full Prakrit legends in Kharoshṭhī on the obverse of these coins as reconstructed by Allan are as follows:—

1. *Mahadevasa raña Śivadasasa Odu(ṁ)barisa.*[2]
2. *Mahadevasa raña Rudradasasa Odu(ṁ)barisa.*
3. *Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoshasa Odu(ṁ)barisa.*
4. *Mahadevasa raña Odu(ṁ)barisa.*[3]

The reverse legends, which are in Brāhmī, when fully restored, give identical readings except for the natural changes in the medial vowels.

A comparison of these coins will be instructive. All the coins have identical obverse and reverse types. The same uniformity characterises their legends which differ from each other only in the mention of the names of the rulers responsible for issuing them. A comparison of legends 1-3 reveals that the Audumbara chiefs enjoyed the title of *mahādeva* in addition to the common regal appellation *rājan*. The name of the reigning king on these coins is preceded by these two titles and followed by the tribal name in genitive case. While this is true of the first three legends, the fourth legend seems to preserve only the regal titles and the family name. There is no doubt that the coins bearing legend no. 4 were also issued by an Audumbara chief, but his name is evidently left out of the legend. Cunningham, however, took *mahādeva* as the name of an Audumbara chief and evidently regarded him as identical with a homonymous king who is known to us from some silver pieces.[4] But as we have seen above, *mahādeva* was one of the titles enjoyed by the Audumbara chiefs. Had the coins under consideration been issued by Madādeva, the legend must have been *Mahadevaśa raña Mahadevasa Odu(ṁ)barisa.* Allan appears

1. According to Cunningham (*Coins of Ancient India*, p. 68) it is a pointed-roofed temple of two or three storeys. R. D. Banerji held a similar view (A New Type of Audumbara Coins, *JASB*, 1914, pp. 247-250). But Allan described it as a two-storied domed *stūpa*. The most probable view, however, seems to be that of S. V. Sohoni (*JNSI*, IV, pp. 55-57) who regarded it as a Śaiva temple of the type which still persists in the Kulu and Beas valleys.
2. *Odumbari* is the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Audumbari* which denoted a king of the Udumbara people, vide *Mahābhāshya*, V, p. 263 (on Pāṇini, VI. 3. 111).
3. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxiv.
4. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 68; Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

to have anticipated this argument when he observed that 'as *Mahādeva* is also found as a regal title on these coins, it is possible that some of the specimens attributed to him...are really incomplete specimens of coins of other rulers. There is no reason, however, to doubt the existence of a ruler of this name, especially as we have also a silver coin bearing it.'[1] In the opinion of the present writer, the first part of Allan's statement applies not to some but to all the coins bearing legend no. 4. It will be shown presently that the king Mahādeva known from certain silver pieces was not an Audumbara chief.

There can be no doubt about the existence of a king named Mahādeva, but there is no reason whatever to think that he was an Audumbara ruler. A comparison of his silver coins with those of Dharaghosha, whose Audumbara lineage is beyond doubt, will make this point clear. The solitary round silver coin of the latter, who is also known from the square copper pieces, is described below :—

Obv. Viśvamitra standing facing with right hand raised, traces of skin over left arm. Kharoshṭhī legend in front—*Viśpamitra* : around—*Mahadevasa raña Dharaghoshasa.*

Rev. Trident with axe on right ; tree in enclosure on left ; legend in Brāhmī around—*Mahādevasa rañño Dharaghoshasa* ; below—*Odabarisa.*[2]

Although silver coins of other Audumbara rulers are not known so far, in view of the uniformity of their copper coins as regards their obverse and reverse types and legends, it would not be too preposterous to suppose that on their silver coins also they must have followed the same type and legend (except the ruler's name) as Dharaghosha's. The Audumbaras appear to have been very conservative in respect of their coin-legends ; they used the title *mahādeva* and the name of the tribe on both copper and silver issues ; but they adopted a new type for their silver money ; the figure of Viśvamitra and trident-axe and tree in enclosure respectively on the obverse and reverse.

Had Mahādeva belonged to the tribe of the Audumbaras, we shall be justified in expecting him to use the title of *mahādeva*, mention the tribal name and follow the same type as Dharaghosha's. The fact is, however, just otherwise. The silver coins of Mahādeva differ very much from that of Dhara-

1. *BMC, Ancient India*, p. lxxxiii.
2. *Ibid*, p. 124.

ghosha both in type and legend. The description of Mahādeva's silver coins illustrated by Allan is as follows :—

Obv. Humped bull r. ; lotus flower (?) in front. Kharoshṭhī legend around—*Bhagavata-Mahadevasa* ; below—*rajaraña.*

Rev. Elephant l. ; trident on left. Brāhmī legend around —*Bhagavata-Mahādevsa* ; below-*rajarāja.*[1]

Moreover, the main obverse and reverse types (humped bull and elephant) of these silver coins, which are borrowed from the hemidrachms of Apollodotus, agree more closely with Allan's class $2\frac{2}{4}$ of Yaudheya coins[2] than with any definitely known Aubumbara coin.

In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* for the year 1900, pp. 112ff, Pl. 12, Rapson published a rare copper coin of Mahādeva which showed the symbol  (a form of *liṅgam* according to Rapson) on the obverse and the Brāhmī legend *Bhāgavata-Mahādevasa* and the standing figure of a male with a trident and a battle-axe combined in his right hand on the reverse. Title *Bhāgavata* connects this coin with the silver issues of king Mahādeva. But there is nothing to indicate that he was an Audumbara chief. It would thus appear that there is no congent reason to connect Mahādeva with the Udumbara people.

One of the British Museum coins of Uttamadatta, a local ruler of Mathurā, is countermarked with the symbol found on the obverse of the above-mentioned copper coin of Mahādeva.[3] On the basis of this coin Mr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta has built the theory of an invasion of Uttamadatta's territory by the so-called Audumbara king or leader Mahādeva in which the latter emerged victorious and countermarked his vanquished adversary's coins.[4] This and similar other theories lose much of their weight as there is no basis to connect Mahādeva with the Audumbara tribe.

In the end, it will not be quite out of place to make a few observations about some other rulers who are, without sufficient reason, regarded as members of the Audumbara family. A king named Rudravarman issued silver money with obverse and reverse types closely agreeing with those of the silver coins of

1. *Ibid*, p. 123, p. 123, Pl. XIV. 16.
2. *Ibid*, p. 267ff.
3. *Ibid*, pp. cx, 177.
4. A Rare Variety of Audumbara Coins, *IHQ*, XXXVIII, pp. 75-79.

Mahādeva and with the Kharoshṭhī legend *Vijayaya-rańa Vemakisa Rudravarmasa* on the obverse and the Brāhmī legend *Vijayaka-rājñ(o) Vemakisa Rudravarmasa* on the reverse.[1] The non-mention of the tribal name Audumbara is sufficient to prove the untenability of associating him with the Audumbara lineage. On the other hand, Rudravarman appears to have belonged to another tribe called Vemaki or Vaimaki which, as plausibly suggested by Mr. Rabis Chandra Kar,[2] may be identified with the Vaimakas named in a quotation of Parāśara cited by Bhaṭṭa Utpala in his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 29-31.[3] Similarly, there is nothing to support the inclusion by Cunningham of the coins of kings Ajamitra (Āryamitra), Mahīmitra, Bhānumitra, Vīrayaśas and Vṛishṇi in the Audumbara series.[4] As early as 1914, R. D. Banerji had expressed doubt about the ascription of the coins of Rudravarman, kings with name ending in Mitra and Vīrayaśas to the Audumbara tribe.[5] But Allan, although not unaware of R. D. Banerji's opinion on the question,[6] followed in the footsteps of Cunningham and attributed the coins of Rudravarman, Aryamitra, Mahīmitra and Bhānumitra to the Audumbara people.[7] The non-mention of the tribal name on these coins is sufficient to show that their ascription to the Audumbaras is not tenable. It will appear from the above discussion that the coins of only three kings, viz. Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa and Dharaghosha, can with certainty be included in the Audumbara series.

1. *Ibid*, p. 125 ; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 68.
2. A Note On The Coins of Rudravarman, *IHQ*, XX (1944), pp. 59-62.
3. Vizianagaram Sanskrit Series, No. X, Part 1, p. 294. While Mr. Kar's suggestion identifying the Vaimakis of the coin with the Vaimakas of Parāśara is plausible, it is not possible to agree with him when he identifies the Vemakis of the coins with the Vaiyāmakas mentioned in *Mahābhārata*.
4. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 68-70.
5. *JASB*, 1914, p. 248.
6. Cf. Allan, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxiii, fn. 1.
7. *Ibid*, pp. 125-128.

A STUDY IN THE COPPER COINS OF RĀMAGUPTA

UPENDRA THAKUR

I

Recently K. D. Bajpai has published a paper on some copper coins of Rāmagupta, discovered from the Vidiśā district of Madhya Pradesh.[1] Earlier some copper coins of Rāmagupta, bearing the begend *Rāmaguta* or *Maguta* or (*Rā*) *magupta* on one side and a lion-figure on the other were published by P. L. Gupta,[2] H. V. Trivedi[3] and K. D. Bajpai.[4] (These are all copper coins, discovered with one exception, from the same area and make interesting reading because, on the basis of these tiny pieces of copper it has been zealously sought to prove the historicity of Rāmagupta, the so called Gupta king whom some scholars have consistently endeavoured to project as the immediate successor of Samudragupta, on the canvas of Gupta history.) Earlier efforts having failed, I believe Bajpai's is the latest[5] in the field and deserves some consideration.

A study of all the copper coins published by scholars so far makes the confusion worse confounded. The effort to move Rāmagupta as a Gupta king on the basis of these doubtful issues seems to have clouded the vision of the champions of this theory who are out to establish their viewpoint by any means for, in this attempt the worst casualty have been the numismatic convention as well as some of the known facts of history. It is true that all of them have claimed that they are not *dogmatic* about their views but their line of argument leaves no doubt that in these discussions it is their "dogma" that plays a greater part than an unbiased approach to the problem itself.

II

In an earlier paper[6] I have thoroughly dealt with all the aspects of this problem and examined all the available sources-

1. *JNSI*, xxiii, 1961, p. 340 ff.
2. *Ibid*, xii (pt. ii), pp. 103-06, Pl. ix. 1-6.
3. *Ibid*, xii (pt. ii), pp. 128-30, Pl. viii. 1-8.
4. *Ibid*, xviii (pt. i), pp. 108-09, Pl. viii. 1.
5. The view of Bajpai (*JNSI*, xxiii, pp. 340-44) has been questioned by D.C. Sircar (*JIH*, xl, Pt., III, pp. 533ff), Nisar Ahmad (*JNSI*, xxv, Pt. I, pp. 106-7), and Jai Prakash (*JNSI*, xxv, Pt. II, pp. 164ff). Recently a new solution to the problem of Rāmagupta has also been suggested by A.H. Dani (*JNSI*, xxvi, Pt. I, pp. 11ff)—*Editor*.
6. Upendra Thakur, Historicity of Rāmagupta" in *Proc. IHC*, 1958, pp. 79-88.

literary, epigraphic and numismatic-bearing on the Gupta history. Except a slender piece of literary evidence which is suspicious and late, there is no evidence worth the name to suggest that Rāmagupta really succeeded Samudragupta after his death. I have also shown that these later historical dramas can not be relied upon as trustworthy sources of history, as they are more a piece of literature than a sober history. The tradition with regard to this episode in later literary works is often contradictory, discrepant and hardly conclusive and is, therefore, very much unsuited to form the basis of such historical conclusions.[1]

The indirect and vague reference to this episode evidently borrowed from literary traditions in some of the later epigraphic records, is too meagre, confusing and referatory to arouse any sense of belief in the theory so based. Further, it loses the force, if any, as it goes unsupported by contemporary Gupta records or other epigraphic evidences of the period.[2]

III

Other sources having failed, numismatic evidence is always the last to rely upon. But here also we meet with disappointment. (No coins of Rāmagupta were discovered in the Bayana hoard which contained the largest number of Gupta gold coins of all the early monarchs upto Skandagupta. It is inexplicable why we should have so far found no gold coins of Rāmagupta if at all he was a historical personage as the exponants of this theory would have us believe.)

(But, as noted above, the discovery of six copper coins of Rāmagupta at Besnagar (Bhilsā) by P. L. Gupta[3]; nine copper coins from the same place by H. V. Trivedi,[4] a new copper coin found by K. D. Bajpai in Talbehat (Jhansi district in Uttara Pradesh[5]) and finally twelve coins including a new type, larger in number than the first one, gathered by Bajpai from Eraṇ (Madhya Pradesh)[6] has tremendously encouraged him to assert that these coins support the historicity of the literary episode which places Rāmagupta immediately after Samudragupta. Further Bajpai thinks that this Rāmagupta was none-other than the elder brother of Chandragupta II and

1. For details see *Ibid*, pp. 80-82,
2. *Ibid*, pp. 82-83.
3. *JNSI*. xii, pp. 103-6
4. *Ibid*, xiii, pp. 128-30.
5. *Ibid*, xviii pp. 108-9.
6. *Ibid*, xxiii, pp. 340-44.

that the episode (as contained in literary works) took place in Vidiśā or Eraṇ.[1]

These discussions are really quite interesting but at the same time they also pose certain searching queries which must be satisfactorily answered before we hasten to pronounce a final judgement. The views of the compilers of the so-called Rāmagūpta coins may be summarised as follows :

(i) The coins published "belong undoubtedly to the same Rāmagupta who was the brother of Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty" as the coins in question are "similar in fabric, type and metrology to the coins of Chandragupta II which were issued by him in Mālwā". Further, they bear the "legend in Gupta script and the name of the issuer is clearly Rāmagupta".[2]

(ii) "The present pieces appear to have been struck by a ruler, Rāmagupta by name. Whether this Rāmagupta was a local prince or the Imperial Gupta ruler can only be decided after some more conclusive evidence is available." In view of this there appears to be nothing improbable in considering Rāmagupta having struck these coins on the local pattern in the region around Eraṇ which was included in the Gupta dominions as early as in the reign of Samudragupta and from where they may have travelled to Bhilsā which is only about forty miles from it".[3] The author, however, hastens to add that he is not "dogmatic" in holding this view.

(iii) It seems difficult to associate the copper coin of Rāmagupta found in the Jhansi district of Uttara Pradesh, "with the copper coins of the Gupta rulers. It appears more plausible that the coin bearing the legend Rāmagupta was issued by some local king of eastern Mālwā".[4]

(iv) The author, however, changed his view based on the solitary coin from Jhansi when he gathered some more copper coins of the king from Eraṇ. In his latest he asserts : "now looking to a large number of coins of this ruler (and particularly of the *Garuḍa* type) from Vidiśā and Eraṇ, it appears that this Rāmagupta was none other than the elder brother of Chandragupta II".[5] Thus, he supports the views of Gupta and Trivedi

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid*, xii, p. 106.
3. *Ibid*, xiii, pp. 129-30.
4. *Ibid*, xviii, p. 109.
5. *Ibid*, xxiii, p. 343.

who lent their unqualified support to the theory of A. S. Altekar, regarding the historicity of Rāmagupta.

IV

The most interesting point about these coins is that they are all (with one exception) from the same place, i.e., Vidiśā, and belong almost to the same type. They follow the same pattern, style and metal, with a slight difference in symbols; for instance we have *Garuḍa* symobl on some of the coins gathered by Bajpai from Eraṇ. The line of argument adopted by the scholars being the same, the conclusions arrived at are inevitably the same. In other words, it is the monotonous repitition of the same tale, told and re-told by scholars with nothing fresh to add.

It has been argued that on all these coins (i) the legend is clearly in Gupta script, and as we know of no other Rāmagupta, the coins should be attributed to him; (ii) the coins show a marked resemblance to the copper coins of Candragupta II, meant for circulation in Mālwā, though in fabric and weight the socalled Rāmagupta coins strikingly resemble the Mālavā coins with lion on the obverse and a legend on the reverse, the only difference being that the posture of the lion on the coins of the former is a bit different from that on the obverse of the latter; (iii) on the reverse of the Mālava coins there is no such symbol as crescent and the legend is within a rectangular incuse, not closed in a circle as in the case of the Rāmagupta coins. In other words, the coins bearing the name of Rāmagupta in Gupta script, have been shown to be similar in fabric, type and metrology, to the coins of Chandragupta II, issued by him for circulation in Mālwā. Trivedi's discussion of some more copper coins of Rāmagupta does not show any further improvement: on the other hand, it seems as if it were meant to emphatically support Gupta's contention, and leaves the point at that. Bajpai goes a step further and boldly asserts that the coins bearing the name *Rāmaguta* are not "the issues of any local officer of the imperial Guptas, nor any feudatory king Rāmagupta". They were definitely issued by "Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya" and the scene of this Rāmagupta-Śaka episode was Vidiśā or Eraṇ. Thus, unlike others he is not argumentative but dogmatic and assertive.

Altekar strongly supports their view as it very well goes in support of his theory on the historicity of Rāmagupta.[1] J. N.

1. *JNSI*, xii, pp. 105-6; xiii, p. 130; *Bayana Hoard*, pp. xxiv-v.

Banerjea,[1] A. K. Narain[2] and others[3] believe that Rāmagupta of these coins (fourth century A. D.) may have been a local ruler of Mālwā.)

A study of these copper coins suggests that they belong to two different fabrics, though Trivedi does not subscribe to this view and the arguments he advances are vague and confusing. They appear to have been issued by two different rulers which A. K. Narain has very aptly pointed out in his note on P. L. Gupta's coins. Some of the coins have the legend *Rāma* while others have *Maga*, *Magaja* (*Magata*), *Maguta*, *Magu*, etc. We have similar odd names on some of the Mālava coins which have been interpreted differently by different scholars. The Prākṛita form of the name of Rāmagupta is there, but this does not necessarily show that it refers to Rāmagupa, the Gupta king, and not to some other king or Chief whom we do not know from other sources. Moreover, on all the coins of the Gupta monarchs we have always the names in Sanskrit forms if so, how are we going to explain this sudden departure from the established convention set forth by the Guptas ? Local considerations can not be said to have cropped up, as on the copper coins of Chandragupta II and Kumāraguta I, such anamolies are not to be found. This is, therefore, quite unusual and surprising in the case of the Guptas, but may, on the other hand, be convincingly interpreted in the context of the Mālava coinage.

V

Our present knowledge of the Gupta copper currency shows that it was first introduced by Chandragupta II. But, if it is presumed to have been started by Rāmagupta, how is it that it exercised no influence, whatever, on the coins issued by his successor ? It is not only surprising but contrary to traditional numismatic norms that as many as nine types of copper currency issued by Chandragupta are altogether different from those circulated by his predecessor. The lion-motif found on the obverse of the Rāmagupta coins is conspicuous by its absence on the reverse side of the coins of Chandragupta II, although lion seems to have been a popular motif with him as his Lion-slayer type and its variants show. Gupta's argument that since on a particular seal of Dhruasvāminī from Vaiśālī, the lion appears in the same pose as it is on these coins, it should be ascribed to Rāmagupta, does not carry conviction.

1. *JBRS*, xli, p. 213.
2. *JNSI*, xii, pp. 107-10.
3. *The Classical Age*, pp. 17-18; *VGA*, Chap. vii; Thakur, *PIHC*, pp. 79-88.

On the other hand, it is more akin to Mālava coinage having the lion device. The posture of the lion is immaterial and does not necessarily go against numismatic convention, for we have often such instances of variation and modification in the field of numismatic innovations. If at all rigidity was maintained, it was done strictly only in the case of the depiction of the bust or figure of the sovereign monarch, the sole issuer, but at the same time it was not always followed rigidly in matters of other details, either on the obverse or on the reverse.

The most important point in this connection is the absence of bust or figure of the monarch on the obverse. The coins of the Guptas and those of other dynasties, either in gold, silver or copper, bear invariably the figure of the monarch with his prerogatives as far as permitted by the little space, but here again the much boosted copper coins of Rāmagupta offer a surprising departure from the recognised convention. We know that the first sign of the assertion of independent authority by a chief or king was the issuing of coinage in his own name along with his figure or bust thereon. The absence of these characteristic features is to be noticed only on the tribal coinage, but never on the coinages of the monarchical states whose heads were too sensitive to their privileged power and position to allow such deviations to occur on the most potent medium of the exercise of their authority. Surprisingly, the reverse device of these coins also misses the characteristic features of Chandragupta's copper or silver or gold coinage. This clearly suggests that these were local issues of either some petty chief owing allegiance to the Imperial Command or they were issues of the Mālavas.

The crescent symbol is not the sure proof of these coins being the genuine issues of Rāmagupta, the Gupta king. The crescent is also found on some of the Kushāṇa and Nāga coins, showing that it was not the monopoly of the Guptas only. On the other hand, the Guptas themselves seem to have borrowed this device from their Kushāṇa prototypes which they gradually did away with in the course of centuries. Thus, it may be suggested that the local ruler also borrowed this device either from the Nāga or from Gupta coinage which by the time of Samudragupta had reached the height of artistic brilliance. Such influences are common in the field of numismatic art and the early Gupta coinage itself bears unmistakable influences of its Kushāṇa prototypes. This is, therefore, a minor point and need not unnecessarily be stressed too far, ignoring other important aspects.

The appearance of *Garuḍa*, known to be the characteristic symbol of the Gupta dynasty, on some of the recently discovered coins of this series from Vidiśā or Eran, is regarded as a positive evidence of the coins being the issues of Rāmagupta, the elder brother of Chandragupta[1] II. We should remember that this *Garuḍa* symbol was as flexible as the crescent symbol and did not constitute the monopoly of one dynasty only. The devotees of Lord Vishṇu hold *Garuḍa* in high esteem and the Vaishṇava kings all over the country had special fascination for this divine bird which has found depiction on coins belonging to other dynasties as well as the tribal states that flourished in ancient India, of which we have numerous instances.

Palaeography, too, does not show that these are the issues of one period. Some of these coins are definitely of a slightly earlier age. We do not come across such variations in lettering on the scores of copper coins of Chandragupta II, as we do in the case of a comparatively much fewer coins of this Rāmagupta. Every coin, it seems, presents its own form and this is indeed most surprising[2] of a series of coins issued by a Gupta monarch whose artists in this field had achieved marvellous excellence.

Thus, in fabric, type, form and palaeography the coins of Rāmagupta are very much similar to the Nāga and local Mālava coinage and are equally different from those issued by Chandragupta II. It is true that "local traditions have played considerable role in Indian history even in the field of Numismatics",[3] but we fail to understand why Rāmagupta alone should have been an exception to this rule and deliberately (?) avoided to get his bust engraved on his coinage, unlike his predecessors and successors in this field. This was due only to his subordinate position which did not allow him to enjoy that cherished privilege.

VI

Bajpai appears to have been in two minds about the interpretation of the coin found by him at Talbehat in the Jhansi district of Uttara Pradesh. It was then surmised by him that the said coin, alongwith similar others published by Gupta and Trivedi might have been issued by some local ruler of eastern Mālwā, but now "looking to a larger number pf coins of this

1. *JNSI.* xxiii, p. 342
2. A. K. Naraian, *JNSI*, xii, pp. 109-10.
3. *JNSI*, xxiii, p. 343.

ruler (and particularly of the *Garuḍa* type) from Vidiśā and Eraṇ", he asserts that this Rāmagupta was none other than the one known from literary sources. In pronouncing his final judgement, it seems, he absolutely forgot about other aspects which remain all the same inspite of the discovery of "a larger number of coins of this ruler". We wonder how could a few coins of the *Garuḍa* type change the dubious character of the entire series of coinage which is sometimes claimed to be Nāga, sometimes Mālava and often Gupta ? We do not think that there is any valid ground for us to change our previous stand as the Lion type and *Garuḍa* type coins of the series do not throw any fresh light on this problem and leave it exactly where it was before. Moreover, the copper coins found by Gupta and Trivedi were all from Bhilsā, whereas the find-spot of the solitary coin from Talbehat is about 116 miles n. n. e. from Bhilsā and the latest are again from Vidiśā and Eraṇ. The anamolies are quite obvious but in his zeal to prove these to be the issues of Rāmagupta, the Gupta king, Bajpai has not cared to explain it.

The wonderful romance of the travel of these coins from Eraṇ to Bhilsā[1] (as suggested by Trivedi) and then to Talbehat seems mysterious and the suggestion of Bajpai that Vidiśā or Eraṇ formed the venue of the Śaka-Rāmagupta episode[2] is equally inexplicable. We do not know if Gupta coins (atleast copper coins) have ever been found in or near Bhilsā so far, and it is all the more doubtful if the regions round Bhilsā had at all come under the Guptas before Chandragupta II.[3] That "Samudragupta had already occupied the territory upto Eraṇ, within forty miles of Besnagar"[4] is no proof that the newly discovered copper coins are those of Rāmagupta of the Imperial Gupta line. It is a hypothesis, pure and simple which sounds utterly fallacious and unconvincing in the logic of history. It is indeed all the more strange to find that Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and their successors, inspite of numerous types of their gold currency, did not care to issue such currency in that area, and it fell to the lot of Rāmagupta to take initiative in the matter.

Moreover, we know that Mālwā, alongwith the tribal states of Punjab, Western India and Central Provinces, was not completely vanquished and annexed to the Gupta empire by Samudragupta, for they are said to have gratified his

1. *JNSI*, xiii, p. 130.
2. *Ibid*, xxiii, p. 344.
3. A. K. Narain, *Op. Cit.* p. 110.
4. A. S. Altekar, *Bayana Hoard*, p. xxv.

imperious command (*pracaṇḍa-śāsana*), "by giving all kinds of taxes, obeying orders and coming to perform obeisance". In other words, it was not directly administered by the Guptas during the time of Samudragupta. On the other hand, it was ruled by a local ruler who paid tribute and homage to the crown. The argument that Rāmagupta of these coins may have been a local ruler of Mālwā is, therefore, much nearer the truth and more convincing than the one advanced by Altekar and others.[1]

From epigraphic records we learn that Chandragupta II was the first ruler of this dynasty who launched military conquest in that direction, *i.e.*, the regions round Bhilsā and Udayagiri.[2] Inspite of the Eraṇ stone-pillar inscription of Samudragupta[3] it is doubtful if he ever held the area round Bhilsā under his direct control "so as to enable him or his immediate successor to issue a new coinage suitable for that region".[4] The literary evidence shows that Rāmagupta fought against the Śakas, but whether it was in Mālwā or in the north-west, cannot be definitely ascertained. Even if we admit that he fought them near Bhilsā, the fact remains that he was utterly defeated and humiliated. How then, of all the places we should have his coins at Bhilsā, the scene of his rout and disgrace? Numismatic evidence clearly suggests that only Chandragupta II can be credited to have advanced in and conquered this area, and just as he started silver coins after annihilating the Western Kshatrapas, he also, took the fancy to issue a copper series, starting with the Vase type, probably borrowed from the Mālava Coinage".[5]

It is thus apparent that the so-called Rāmagupta was the only unfortunate Gupta king who had not issued any coins, or inscriptions to mark any notable event of his reign. But, we are asked to believe that inspite of the paucity of archaeological evidence, a few copper coins, alleged to have been issued by him, are sufficient to lend him the dignity and halo of the glorious imperial Guptas and rank him with them as such a suggestion which seems utterly fallacious in the logic of history.

1. For details see Upendra Thakur, "Historicity of Rāmagupta" in *PIHC*, 1958. pp. 79-88.
2. Cf. the Udayagiri cave inscription of A. D. 401 : कृत्स्न-पृथ्वी-जयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागत... (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, i, p. 272).
3. *Ibid*, pp. 260-62.
4. A. K. Narain, *Op. Cit.* p. 110 fn. 2.
5. A. K. Narain, *Op. Cit.* p. 110 fn. 2.

REMARKABLE MUGHAL GOLD COINS IN THE STATE MUSEUM, LUCKNOW

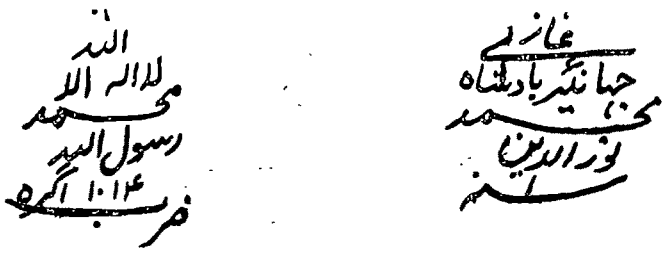
C. R. SINGHAL

[Pl. V]

1. Jahāngīr, Mint Āgra, date 1014-1 A. H.

Accession Register No. 11727 of the State Museum, Lucknow. This valuable coin was purchased on 31. 3. 1960 for Rs. 350/- only.

Obverse **Reverse**



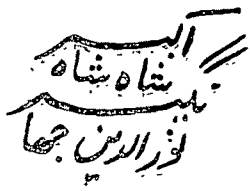
Pl. V. 1

Another specimen of the same type and date is described and illustrated at No. 291 of *BMC*. The only difference being that our specimen was issued from the Āgra mint while that of the British Museum from the Lāhor mint. It is therefore the only gold coin issued from the Āgra mint. Jahāngīr himself informs us in his *Tuzuk* that he "ascended the royal throne in the capital of Āgra in 38th year of his age when one sidereal hour of Thursday Jumādā-s.Sāni, 20th, A. H. 1014" i.e. one hour after sunrise. There is, therefore, every likelihood that this *muhar* was issued from the Āgra mint at the time of his coronation at Ā-gra. It must be borne in mind that gold coins of the finest workmanship were issued by Jahāngīr mostly from the Āgra and Lāhor Mints.

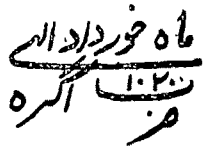
2. Square, Jahāngīr, mint Āgra, Date 1020, Khurdād.

Accession Register No. 10280 of the State Museum, Lucknow. This fine specimen was purchased on 14. 4. 1947.

Obverse : In double lined octagon with ornaments in the angular spaces. The whole area in triplelined square; the middle one being of dots :



Reverse : In double sixteenfoil border within a triplelined square, the middle one being of dots. Wavy ornaments in the angular spaces.

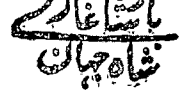


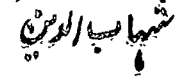
Pl. V. 2

Such a beautiful and square shaped gold coin of Āgra mint is not known so far.

3. Shāhjahān, mint Aurangābād, date (104) 9-13 A. H. Accession Register No. 6522. This coin was purchased on 29. 12. 1922 for Rs. 70/- only.

Obverse : In a square the Kalimā. Usual margins beginning from the top. Date (۱۰۴)۹ in the left hand corner of the square.
Regnal year ۱۳ over ه of صاحب

Reverse : In a square 

Margins, Top 

Right محمد صاحب

Below قران ثانی

Left اورنگ آباد

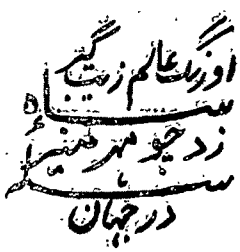
Pl. V. 3

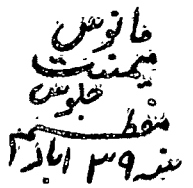
Not a single coin of Shāhjahān in any metal is known to have been issued from this mint. Aurangābād was the name given by Aurgangzeb to a town founded by him during the reign of his father Shāhjahān near the site of the village Kharki, southeast of Daulatābād. It was all along believed that prior to emperor Aurangzeb, no coin of any ruler was issued from this mint. But the discovery of this unique *muhar* proves to the contrary. This solitary coin was probably issued sometime after the city was founded by his son prince Aurangzeb during his first governorship in the Deccan.

4. Aurangzeb, mint Mu'azzamābād, date —39 R. Y.

Accession Register No. 8772. This *Muhar* was received on 9.2.1940 as treasure trove from village Bhatipura in the district of Hamīrpūr in U. P.

Obverse **Reverse**





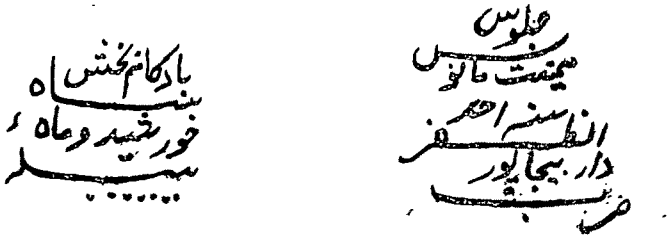
Only a few gold coins of Farrukhsiyar, Rafiu-d-Darjāt, Jahāndār, and Muhammad Shāh are known to have been issued from this mint, but no gold coin of Aurangzeb has been discovered so far. About this mint Whitehead writes[1]: "The name of Gorakhpūr was changed to Mu'azzamābād

1. P. 6 of *Panjab Museum Catalogue* by Whitehead.

in honour of Prince Mu'azzam, son of Aurangzeb, afterwards Shāh 'Alam I. The first known issues in the new name are one or two very rare rupees of Aurangzeb". This is therefore, a unqiue *Muhar* of Aurangzeb issued from this mint.

5. Kām Bakhsh, mint Dārul-Zafar Bījāpūr, date Ahd. Accession Register No. 6776. Purchased on 2. 12. 1924 from H. Nelson Wright along with other seven Rupees of 'Azam Shāh and Kām Bakhsh for Rs. 100/- only.

Obverse **Reverse**



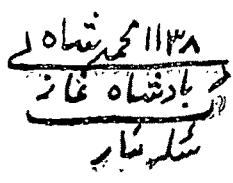
Pl. V. 4

Rupees of Kām Bakhsh issued from this mint are very well known to us but no gold coin has come to light so far. A crude type of *muhar* in his name from Nusratābād (?) mint is described by Vicaji Taraporevala[1] and another from the Haidarābād mint by Delmerick[2]. Except these two, no other gold coins are published. We learn from the Mughal history that Emperor Aurangzeb made a Will and according to it, it was said "Whoever of my fortunate children shall chance to rule the empire let him not molest Muhammad Kām Bakhsh, should he rest content with the two new *Sūbahs* (Bījāpūr and Haidarābād)". Therefore his currency was restricted only to these two places in the Deccan but no *Muhar* of Bījāpūr mint was known so far.

6. Muhammad Shāh, mint Allahābād, date 1138-8 A.H. Accession Register No. 8701. Purchased on 17. 10. 1939 for Rs. 50/- only.

1. *NS*, XLIII, p. 29.
2. *PASB*, 1884, p. 90.

Obverse Reverse



No gold coins of Muhammad Shāh issued from this mint are published so far. A large number of silver coins were issued from this mint but in gold this is the only specimen which has come to our knowledge. This is therefore an exceedingly rare piece in gold.

7. Muhammad Shāh, mint Sahrind, date 114x-10.
Accession Register no. 10467. Purchased on 9. 19. 1948 for

Obverse Reverse



Pl. V. 5

Rs. 200/- only. No gold coins of this mint were published before. A passing reference was made at p. 335 of *NS*, XI regarding old coins in the Bahāwalpūr Toshakhana but not a single specimen was described. This is also an exceedingly rare specimen.

8. Muhammad Shāh, mint Gwāliar, date 114x-17 A. H.
Accession Register no. 7505. Purchased on 12. 5. 1928 for

Obverse Reverse

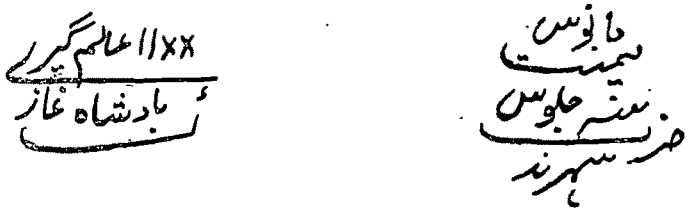


Rs. 35/- only. Except a passing reference as stated above no gold coins of Muhammad Shāh issued from this mint have come to our notice.

9. 'Alamgīr II, mint Sahrind, date 11xx A. H.

Accession Register No. 10470. Purchased on 9. 12.1948 for

Obverse **Reverse**



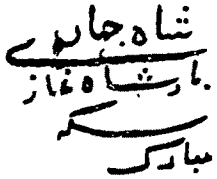
Rs. 200/- only. Except a passing reference at page 336 of *NS*, XI, no gold coin of 'Alamgir II of this mint is published anywhere. This is, therefore, an exceedingly rare specimen.

ON THE ATTRIBUTION OF THE COINS OF SHĀH JAHĀN II AND III

NISAR AHMAD

The coins of Shāh Jahān II and III bear similar legends and resemble very much in fabric and weight. Hence some of the dateless coins are wrongly attributed to one of these rulers and such ascriptions have sometimes been doubted by scholars. Here an attempt is made to trace the characteristics of the coins of these rulers which help us to distinguish their money or to suggest their attributions.

The obverse of the coins of both these rulers bear the following legend[1] :



These coins vary between 167 and 172 grains in weight and between .8 to 1.1 inch in size.[2]

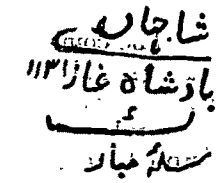
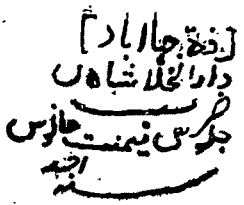
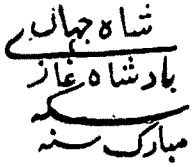
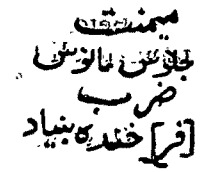
Before discussing this problem, it is worthwhile to tabulate all the dated coins of these rulers.

1. Whitehead, R. B., *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, II., pp. 317, 378.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 315, 377-78 ; Lane-Poole, *The coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum*, pp. 194-96, 228-230 ; Brown, C. J, *Catalogue of coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, pp. 325 ; Nelson Wright, H, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, III, pp. 214-215, 266-267.

COINS OF SHĀH JAHĀN II

Coins registered in *BMC*[1]

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
AV 945	Shāh Jahānābād	1131	1	Obv.	
				Rev.	
946	Farkhundā[2] bunyād (Hyderābād)	,,	—	Obv.	
				Rev.	

1. *BMC.*, pp. 194-96.
2. Lane-Poole reads '*Khujista bunyād*', but on the coin the letters are '*Khundā bunyād*'; but it may be *Farkhundā bunyād*.

No.	Mint	Year	R Year		Legend
AR 947	Akbarābād	„	1	Obv.	as 945; but ۱۱۳۱ at top.
				Rev.	اکبرآباد مستقرالخلافة ضرب جلوس یمنت مانوس احد
948	Barailī	„	„	Obv.	as 945, but ۱۱۳۱ over مبارک
				Rev.	مانوس یمنت احد جلوس سنه ضرب بریلی
950	Azīmābād (Patna)	„	„	Obv.	بادشاه غازی شاه جهان سنه ۱۱۳۱ مبارک
				Rev.	عظیم آباد ضرب جلوس یمنت مانوس احد سنه

No.	Mint	Year	R Year		Legend
951	Lāhore	„	„	**Obv.**	as 945; ۱۱۳۱ over مبارک
				Rev.	جلوس مانوس میمنت احد دار السلطنت لاهور ضرب
952	Murshidābād	„	„	**Obv.**	شاه جهان بادشاه غازی ۱۱۳۱
				Rev.	as 948, but mint مرشد آباد

Coins registered in *PMC*[1]

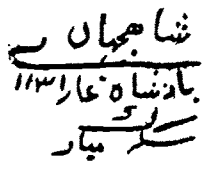
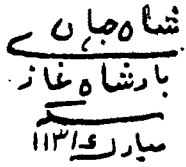
A/ 2292	Arkāt	1131	1	**Obv.**	شاه جهان بادشاه غازی ۱۱۳۱ مبارک سنه
				Rev.	مانوس میمنت احد جلوس ضرب ارکنات

W. 172
S. .8

1. *PMC*, pp. 315-18.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year	Legend
2293	Khujistā Bunyād	„	„	**Obv.** As on No. 2292, but date ۱۱۳۱ to left of bottom line.
				Rev. مانوس میمنت اختر جلوس ضرب خجسته بنیاد
				W. 168 S. .8
2294	Surat	„	„	**Obv.** as on No. 2293.
				Rev. as on No. 2293, but mint سورت
				W. 170 S. I
2295	Shāhjahānābād	„	„	**Obv.** as on No. 2292, but date ۱۱۳۱ to right of middle line.
				Rev. فرخ بنیاد دارالخلافه شاهجهان ضرب جلوس میمنت مانوس سنه ۱ احد
				W. 172 S. .8
Æ 2296	Itāwā	„	„	**Obv.** as on 2992
				Rev. as on 2292, but mint اتاوه

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
2297	Islāmābād	1131	1	Obv.	as on 2292, but date ۱۱۳۱ above top line
				Rev.	اسلام اباد ضرب جلوس میمنت مانوس سنه احد
2298	Akbarābād	,,	,,	Obv.	as on 2297
2299	Mustaqirrul-khilāfat			Rev.	اکبر اباد مستقر الخلافة ضرب جلوس میمنت مانوس سنه احد
2300	Barailī	,,	,,	Obv.	جهان بشاه بادشاه غازی سکه یاری ۱۱۳۱
				Rev.	as on No. 2292, but mint بریلی
2301	Tattā	,,	,,	Obv.	as on No. 2292, but date ۱۱۳۱ over middle line
				Rev.	مانوس میمنت جلوس سنه احد ضرب تسم

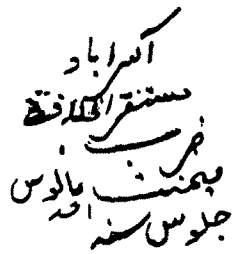
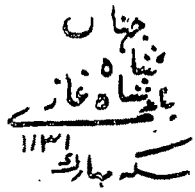
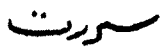
No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
2304	Shāhjahānābād Dārulkhilāfat	,,	,,	**Obv.**	
				Rev.	as on 2295
2305	,,	,,	,,	**Obv.**	as on 2292, but date ۱۱۳۱ to right of middle line
2306				**Rev.**	as on 2295
2307	Gwāliār	,,	,,	**Obv.**	as on 2292, but date ۱۱۳۱ to left of middle line.
				Rev.	as on 2292, but mint گوالیار
2308	Lāhor	,,	,,	**Obv.**	as on 2292, but date ۱۱۳۱ over bottom line
2309	Dārus-Saltanat			**Rev.**	As *BMC*, 951
2310	Lakhnau	1131	1	**Obv.**	
				Rev.	as on 2300, but mint لکھنؤ
2311	Murshidābād	,,	,,	**Obv.**	as on 2292, but ۱۱۳۱ over middle line
				Rev.	,, but mint مرشدآباد

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
2312	Multān	„	„	Obv.	بادشاه غاز شاه جهان سکه بهار ۱۱۳۱
				Rev.	مانوس یمنت احد سنه جلوس ضرب ملتان

Coins registered in *LMC*[1]

A/3753	Shāhjahānābād Dāru-l-khilāfat	1131	I	Obv.	As *BMC*, 945 but ۱۱۳۱ over middle line
				Rev.	As *BMC*, 945 W. 168.5 S. .9
R 3754 3754a	Itāwā	1131	I	Obv.	as on No. 3753, but ۱۱۳۱ to left of bottom line
				Rev.	مانوس یمنت احد جلوس سنه ضرب اتاوز
3755 3756	Akbarābād Mustaqirul-khilāfat	„	„	Obv.	as on No. 3753, but ۱۱۳۱ over جلوس

1. *LMC*, pp. 225-227.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
				Rev.	
3756a	Barailī	,,	,,	**Obv.**	
				Rev.	As *BMC*, 948
3757	Surat	,,	,,	**Obv.**	as on No. 3754
3737a				**Rev.**	as on No. 3756a, but mint 
3758	Shāhjahānābād Dārul Khilāfat	,,	,,	**Obv.**	as on 3753
				Rev.	as on No. 3753
3758a	,,	,,	,,	**Obv.**	as No. 3753 but شاهجهان written thus and ۱۱۳۱ to left of middle line
				Rev.	as on No. 3753
3759	Azīmābād	,,	,,	**Obv.**	As *BMC*, 950
				Rev.	As *BMC*, 950
3760	Lāhor Dāru-s-Saltanat	1131	I	**Obv.**	as on No. 3753, but ۱۱۳۱ in middle of bottom line.
				Rev.	As *BMC*, 951.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
3761	Lakhnau	„	„	**Obv.**	as on No. 3753, but ۱۱۳۱ to left of bottom line.
				Rev.	As *PMC*, 2310.
3762	Murshidābād	„	„	**Obv.**	شاہجہاں ۱۱۳۱ بادشاہ غازی
				Rev.	As *PMC*, 2292.

Coins registered in *IMC*[1]

A/ 1823	Lāhor Dāru s-Saltanat	1131	I	**Obv.**	As *PMC*, 2308.
				Rev.	As *BMC*, 951.
				W.	166
				S.	·85
AR 1825 1826	Akbarābād Mustaqirrul-Khilāfat	1131	I	**Obv.**	as on No. 1823, but ۱۱۳۱ over top line.
				Rev.	اکبرآباد مستقر الخلافۃ ضرب جلوس میمنت مانوس
				W.	175-174
				S.	.95 ; .9-
1827	Itāwā	„	„	**Obv.**	as on No. 1823, but ۱۱۳۱ to left of مبارک

1. *IMC*, pp. 214-215.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
				Rev.	*PMC*, 2296.
				W.	176
				S.	1″
1828 1829	Murshidābād	„	„	**Obv.**	as on No. 1823, but ۱۱۳۱ over بادشاہ
				Rev.	as on No. 1827, but مرشد اباد Five-petalled flower to right of احد on one
				W.	179.3 ; 179
				S.	.85
1830 1831	Shāhjahānābād	„	„	**Obv.**	as on No. 1823, but شاهجهان and ۱۱۳۱ to left of غاز
				Rev.	As *PMC*, 2295.
				W.	175-174
				S.	85
1832 1833 1834	„	„	„	**Obv.**	as on No. 1823, but ۱۱۳۱ to right of باد
				Rev.	as on No. 1830
				W.	177-175
				S.	·85

Some coins of Shāh Jahān II of Burhānpur, Azīmābād and Korā mints with dates, except one which is not dated, are recorded from the Limbdi Treasury. The undated coins of Dār-ul-Khair Ajmer mint is also assigned to this emperor.[1]

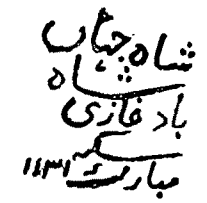
Coins listed in the supplement to Volume III of *IMC*.[2]
Mughal Emperors

N 1512	Khujistā bunyād	1131	I	**Obv.**	As *IMC*., 1823, but date ۱۱۳۱ to left of مبارز

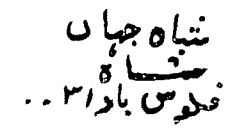
1. *NS*, XIV, p. 572.
2. *SIMC*, pp. 155-157.

No.	Mnit	Year	R Year		Legend
				Rev.	As *IMC*, 1824 but خجسته‌بنیاد W. 169 S. .9
1513 Æ	Ahmadābād	,,	,,	**Obv.**	بادشاه غازی شاه جهان سکه مبارک ۱۱۳۱
				Rev.	As *IMC*, 1824, but احمدآباد W. 178.8 S. I
1514	Azīmābād	,,	,,	**Obv.**	As on 1213
				Rev.	As *LMC*, 3759 W. 176.8; S. .9
1515	Barailī	,,	,,	**Obv.**	As *LMC*, 3756 (a)
1516				**Rev.**	As *LMC*, 3756 (a) Traces of dotted border W. 175.5; S. 1- .95
1517	Gwāliār	,,	,,	**Obv.**	As *LMC*, 3756 (a) but شاه‌جهان in one line and date to left of the traces of dotted border
				Rev.	As *LMC*, 3756 (a) but گوالیار W. 175; S. I

1. Another coin of this mint which is identical to it is published by C. R. Singhal in the last issue of this Journal (*JNSI*, pt. I, pp. 60-61).

No.	Mint	Year	R Year		Legend
1518	Korā[1]	1131	I	**Obv.**	
				Rev.	As *LMC*, 3756 (a)  W. 175.6 S. .9
1519	Lāhor	„	„		As *IMC*, 1823
1520	Dārus-Saltanat				W. 176-176 S. .9; .95
1521	Lakhnau	„	„	**Obv.**	As *IMC*, 1823
1522					Date wanting in No. 1522
				Rev.	As *IMC*, 1824 W. 168-175 S. .85
1523	Multān	„	„	**Obv.**	As No. 1513
				Rev.	As No. *IMC*, 1824 but ملتان W. 176; S. .9
1524	Mumbay	„	„	**Obv.**	As *PMC*, 2313, but date to left of مبار
				Rev.	As *IMC*, 1824 but منبی احمد W. 177; S. .95

Coin registered in *JASB*, 1912[1]

Æ	Surat	—31	I	**Obv.**	

1. *JASB*, 1912, p. 436.

No	Mint	Year	R. Year	Legend
				Rev. احد سنه جلوس سورت

Coin registered in *NS*, XX[1]

18	Kambāyat	1131	I	**Obv.** As *PMC*, 2312 **Rev.** As *PMC*, 2312 but کنبایت

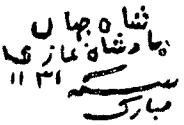
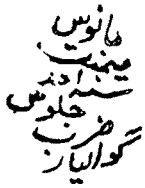
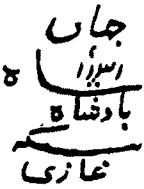
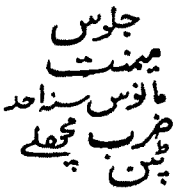
Coin recorded in *NS*, XV[2]

AR 33	Tattā	1131	I	**Obv.** صاحبقران جهان ثانی بامن وامان شاه ۱۱۳۱ **Rev.** مانوس یمنت الله سنه جلوس قرب سنه

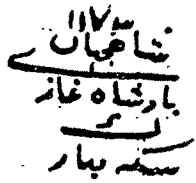
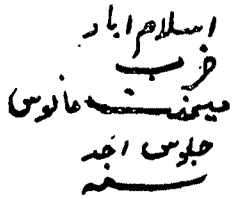
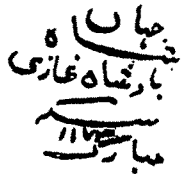
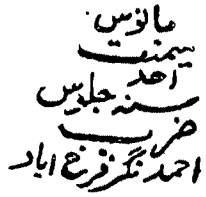
It is a couplet coin of Shāh Jahān II.
The couplet is—

سکه زد در جهان بامن وامان
صاحبقران ثانی شاه جهان

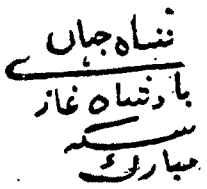
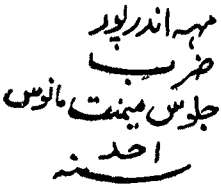
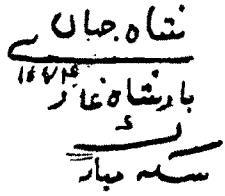
1. *NS*, XX, p. 554.
2. *NS*, XV, pp. 664-5.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year	Legend
		Coin recorded in *NS*, XVI[1]		
Æ	Burhānpūr	1131	I	Ordinary type
		Coin recorded in *NS*, 1904[2]		
8 Æ	Gwāliār	1131	I	**Obv.** 
				Rev. 
				W. 177 S. I
		Coin published in *JNSI*[3]		
Æ	Machlīpatan	1131	I	**Obv.** 
				Rev. 
				W. 175. 5 S. 1"

1. *NS*, XVI, p. 677. But the particulars of this coin are not given.
2. *NS.*, 1904, pp. 242-3.
3. *JNSI*, V, p. 81, pl. V. 7

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
		COINS OF SHĀH JAHĀN III[1]			
		Coins registered in *BMC*			
AV 1086	Islāmābād	1173	I	**Obv.**	
				Rev.	
					W. 168 S. 85
1087	Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād	,,	,,	**Obv.**	
				Rev.	
					W. 167 S. 1″
AR	Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād	,,	,,	As on 1087 W. 166 S. 1.1	

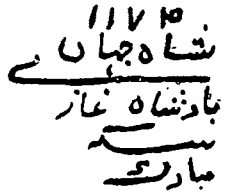
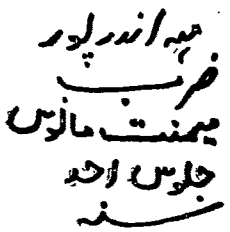
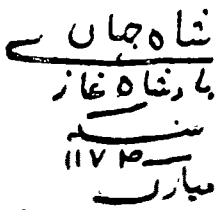
1. *BMC*, pp. 228-30.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year	Legend
1089	Ahmadābād	„	„	**Obv.** as on 1087 : but unit of date obscure **Rev.** as on 186 : but احمدآباد W. 179 S. 9
1090	Mahā Indrapur[1]	„	„	**Obv.**  **Rev.**  W. 173 S. 1
1091	Shāhjahānābād	1174	I	**Obv.**  **Rev.**[1] As *LMC*, 3753 S. 1.15

1. S. Lane Poole only writes Indrapur.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
1092	Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād	„	„		As on 1087, but W. 174 S. 1.0

Coins registered in *PMC*[1]

A/	Ahmadnagar				
2851	Farrukhābād	1173	„		As *BMC* 1087 W. 172 S. 1.1
2852	Mahā Indrapur	1174	I	Obv.	
				Rev.	 W. 167 S. 85
Æ 2853 2854	Azīmābād	„	„	Obv.	

1. *PMC*, pp. 377-378.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
				Rev.	ضرب میمنت مانوس جلوس احد سنه
2855	Ahmadnagar Farukhābād	1173	„		As on No. 2851 S. 1. 1 (looped)
2856	Mahā Indrapur	1174	„	Obv.	as on No. 2852
2857					Nagari character ष to left of last line
				Rev.	as on No. 2852

Coins registered in *LMC*[1]

Æ 4480	Ahmadābād	1173	I	Obv.	شاهجهان بادشاه غازی سکه مبارک
				Rev.	مانوس میمنت سنه جلوس ضرب احمد آباد

1. *LMC*, pp. 389-390.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year		Legend
4481	Ahmadābād	1175 (Sic)	I		As 4448, but ۱۱۷۵
				Obv.	شاہ جہاں بادشاہ غازی ۱۱۷۳ سکہ مبارک
4483	Shāhjahānābād Daru-l-Khilāfat	1173	„		
				Rev.	فرخ بنیاد دار الخلافہ شاہجہاں ضرب میمنت مانوس جلوس احد سنہ
4484	„	1174	„	Obv.	as on No. 4483, but ۱۱۷۵
				Rev.	as on No. 4483
4485	Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād	„	„		As. *BMC*, 1087

Coins registered in *IMC*[1]

R 2262	Ahmādābād	117–	I		As *LMC*, 4480 W. 169 S. .7
2264	Azīmābād	1173	I		As *PMC*, 2853, but mint name is present over ضرب W. 178 S. .85
2265	„	1174	„	Obv.	As on No. 2264,
2266		„	„		but ۱۱۷۵
				Rev.	As on No. 2264 W.179-178′ S. .9;-83

1. *IMC*, pp. 266-67.

No.	Mint	Year / R Year		Legend
2268	Mahā Indrapur (Bharatpur)	„ „		As *BMC*, 1090
	Coins listed in the Supplement to Volume III of *IMC*, Mughal Emperors[1]			
1999 A/	Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād	1173 I	**Obv.**	As *LMC*, 4485, but ۱۱۷۳
			Rev.	As *LMC*, 4485, M.146 W. 167.5; S. .95
2000 Ā	Akbarābād Mustaqirr-ul-Khilāfat	1174 „	**Obv.**	As *IMC*, 2263, but ۱۱۷۴ over جلوس
			Rev.	*IMC*, 2263 W. 173. S. 1.1
2001	Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād	1173 I	**Obv.**	As *LMC*, 4485, but ۱۱۷۳ Traces of doted border
			Rev.	As *LMC*, 4485 W. 168 S. 1.05
2002	„	1174 „	**Obv.**	As *LMC*, 4485 but ۱۱۷۴
			Rev.	As *LMC*, 4485 W. 173 S. 1.1
2003	Shāhjahānābād Dār-ul-Khilāfat	1173 „	**Obv.**	As *IMC*, 2263, but ۱۱۷۳ in top line
			Rev.	As *IMC*, 2169 W. 175 S. .9
	Coin registered in *NS*, V[2]			
14 Ā	Azīmābād	1174 I		As *IMC*, 2264 but ۱۱۷۴
	Coin registered in *NS*, VII[3]			
	Azīmābād	1173 I		As *IMC*, 2264

1. *SIMC*, pp. 203-4.
2. *NS*, V, p. 132, pl., IV.
3. *NS*, VII, p. 64.

No.	Mint	Year	R Year	Legend

Coins published in *NS*, VII[1]

Ⱥ 1	Azīmābād	1173	I	**Obv.** شاه جهان بادشاه غازی سکه مبارک ۱۱۷۳
				Rev. As *IMC*, 2264

Coin listed in *JASB*, XLV[2]

Ⱥ 151	Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād	1173	I	**Obv.** As *BMC*, 1087 but ۱۱۷۳ right to مبارک
				Rev. As *BMC*, 1087 W. 169

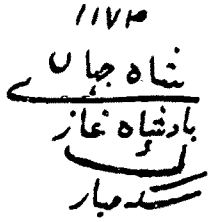
Coins mentioned in *PASB*, 1876[3]

Ⱥ	Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād	1174	I	**Obv.** شاه جهان باشاه غازی سکه مبارک
				Rev. ضرب احمدنگر فرخ باد

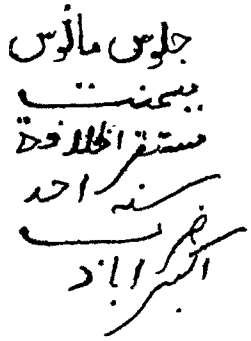
1. *NS*, VII, p. 64.
2. *JASB.*, XLV, p. 293, No. 15. J.G. Delmirek keeps this coins in the name of Shāh Jahān II whose name was Muhi-ul-millat son of Muhiu-Sunnat son of Kām Baksh. C. R. Singhal also describes it in the *Bibliography of Indian Coins*, pt. II, p. 6, in the name of Shāh Jahān II. But Rafi-ud-daulah also had the title 'Shāh Jahān II' and therefore to avoid the confusion among the readers it is most essential not to call Shāh Jahān II to Muhi-ul-Millat.
3. *PASB.*, 1876, pp. 138-141. H. Blockmann also did the same mistake and designated the coin in the name of Shāh Jahān II. C.R. Singhal mentions, *op. cit.*, p. 114, N 116, that "no other particulars about this coin are given except the date which is 1173 Hijri. The coin should therefore be assigned to Shāh Jahān III and not to II. "However, the complete legend of the coin is supplied, though the style of putting the words and the photograph are not given and the date in the note is 1174 Hijri and not 1173 Hijri as Singhal writes.

No.	Mint	Year	R. Year	Legend
		Coin recorded in *PASB*, 1888[1]		
8	Akbarābād	1174	I	

Obv.



Rev.



Mint towns of Shāh Jahān II and III based on dated coins
Shāh Jahān II

(1) *Shāhjahānābād*[2]
(2) Khujistā bunyād (Aurangābād)
(3) *Akbarābād*
(4) Barailī
(5) *Azīmābād*
(6) Lāhore
(7) Murshidābād
(8) Arkāt
(9) *Surat*
(10) Itāwā
(11) *Islāmābād*
(12) Akbarābād (Mustaqirru-l-Khilāfat)
(13) Tattā
(14) Multān

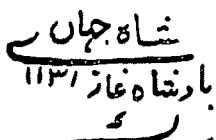
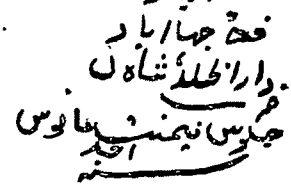
1. *PASB*, 1888, p. 4, No. 8.
2. Place names printed in italics show that the mint-town concerned, was used as such by both of the homonymous kings.

(15) Lakhnau
(16) *Ahmadābād*
(17) Machlipatan
(18) Burhānpur
(19) Kōrā
(20) Farkhundā bunjād (Hyderābād)
(21) Kambāyat

Shah Jahan III

(1) *Islāmābād*
(2) Ahmadnagar Farrukhābād
(3) *Ahmadābād*
(4) Mahā Indrapur
(5) *Shāhjahānābād*
(6) *Azīmābād*
(7) *Akbarābād*
(8) *Surat*
(9) Qanauj[1]

Let us see the style of letter-execution on the coins of these mints.

Shah Jahan II	**Shah Jahan III**
Shāhjahānābād	
BMC, 945	*BMC*, 1091
Obv. 	As of Shāh Jahān II, but date above غاز and not in the left; احد slight by right.
Rev. 	

1. The coin of this mint of Shāh Jahān III is described in the Sale Catalogue of the white King, 1915, but I could not get it.

PMC, *2295*

Obv. As *BMC*, 945 but ۱۱۳۱ right to باد

Rev. as on *BMC*, 945, but احد and سنه in one line.

„ 2304 **Obv.** as on *BMC*, 945, but شاهجهان

Rev. as *PMC*, 2295

„ 2305 as on No. 2295, but
2306 date ۱۱۳۱ to right of middle line.

LMC, *3753*

Obv. As *BMC*, 945 but ۱۱۳۱ over

بادشاه

Rev. as on *BMC*, No. 945

LMC, *4483*

Obv. As *BMC*, 945

Rev. as on *BMC*, No. 945 but جلوس is not in the 4th line

with میمنت مانوس ;

and احد is neither written alone over سنه or with سنه in the last line, but with جلوس over سنه. The arrangement is as :

میمنت مانوس
جلوس احد
سنه

IMC, 1830-31.

Obv. As an *PMC*, 2304.

Rev. As on *PMC*, 2304.

1832-33-34

Obv. As on *PMC*, 2304, but date to right of بلد

Rev. as on *PMC*, 2295.

However, it is seen that some times it is very difficult to distinguish the coins of Shāh Jahān II and III of this mint but some characteristic features may be noted.

On the coins of Shah Jahan II

(1) احد above سنه in the left side.

(2) سنه and احد in one line ; sometimes احد over سنه.

(3) جلوس میمنت مانوس in one line.

(4) Often Shāh Jahān is written in the following manner :

شاهجہاں

On the coins of Shāh Jahān III

(I) If احد is above سنه , it is slightly in the right side.

(II) جلوس and احد some lines in one line above سنه.

(III) Shāh Jahān is never written in the following way :

شاهجہاں

Islāmābād

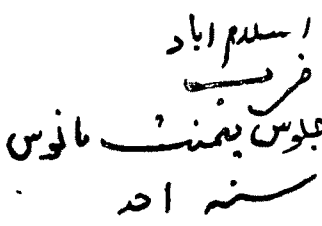
PMC, 2297

Obv. ۱۱۳۱ شاہ جہاں بادشاہ غاز سکہ مبارک

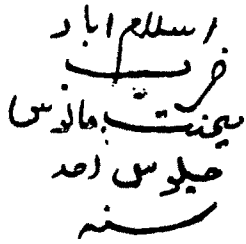
BMC, 1086

Obv. ۱۱۷۳ شاہجہاں بادشاہ غاز سکہ مبارک

Rev.



Rev.



The following characteristics on the coins of this mint of these rulers can be marked.

On the coins of Shāh Jahān II

(1) Shāh Jahān is written in this manner— شاہ جہاں

(2) In thirdline جلوس ز جلوس میمنت مانوس

is with

میمنت مانوس

(3) احد in the 4th line with سنہ

On the coins of Shāh Jahān III

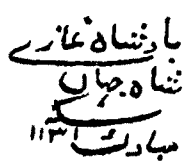
(1) Shāh Jahān is written in this manner— شاھجہاں

(2) جلوس is with احد in the 4th line.

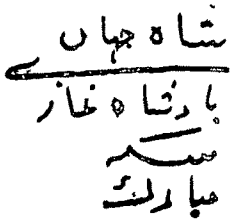
(3) There is a fifth line in which احد is written ; it is not written with سنہ as on the coins of Shāh Jahān II.

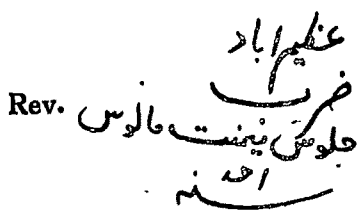
Azīmābād

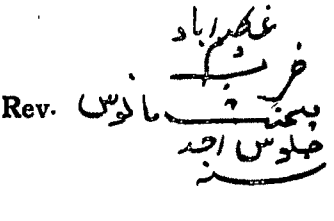
Obv.



Obv.





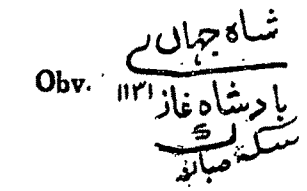


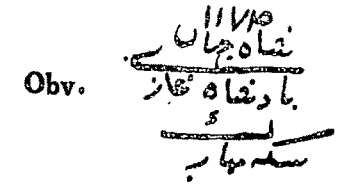
BMC, LMC. *PMC, IMC, NS,* VII

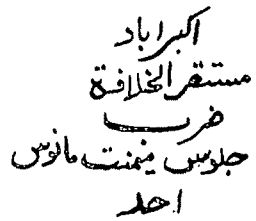
The coin of Shāh Jahān II of this mint have the letters in the first line *Bādshāh Ghāzī* while the coins of Shāh Jahān III Shāh Jahān. On the reverse of Shāh Jahān II's coins the word *julus* is written with *maimanat manus* in the third line, but on the coins of Shāh Jahān III it is written with the word *Aḥd* in the fourth line.

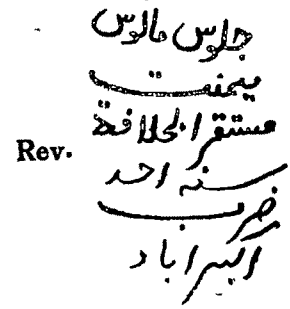
Akbarābād

PMC, 947 *PASB, 1888, No. 8*









PMC, 2298-2299
As on *PMC,* 947

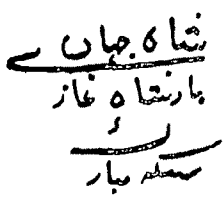
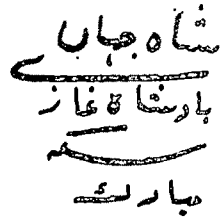
LMC, 3756
As on *PMC,* No. 947, but ۱۱۳۱ over جہاں

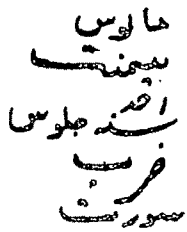
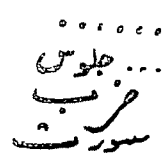
IMC, 1825-1826
As on *LMC,* 3756

The only noted difference between the coins of Shāh Jahān II and III is that on the reverse of the coins of the former the legend starts from the mint name Akbarābād while on the latter it begins from *Julus* and *mānus* and ends on the name of the mint Akbarābād.

Surat

PMC, 2294 *IMC, 2269*

Obv.  **Rev.** 

Obv.  **Rev.** 

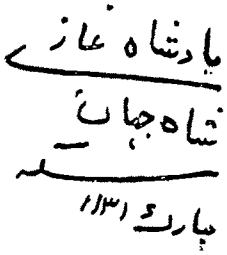
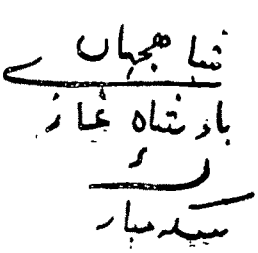
IMC, 3757-3757 a

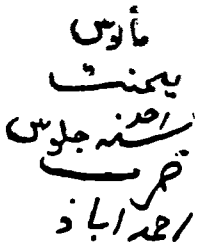
See, also the reverse of the coin listed in JASB, 1912.

However we see that on the obverse of Shāh Jahān III Sikah سکہ is written in the 4th line and not in the last line as on Shāh Jahān II. About the differences of the reverse die arrangement of both the kings nothing can be said as the legend on the dated coin of this mint of Shāh Jahān III is not read completely.

Ahmadābād

SIMC, 1513 *LMC, 4480*

Obv.  **Obv.** 

Rev. 

Rev.

as *SIMC*, 1513

The following distinct features of the coins of Shāh Jahān II and III can be marked out.

1. On the obverse of the coins of Shāh Jahān بادشاہغازی is written in the first line while on the obverse of the coins of Shāh Jahān III بادشاہغازی is in the second line.

2. The name شاہجہان on the coins of Shāh Jahān II is executed in the second line but on the coins of Shāh Jahān III on the top, i. e. first line.

3. On the coins of Shāh Jahān II the name is written in this manner—ساہجہان while on Shāh Jahān III as شاہجہاں

4. On the coins of Shāh Jahān II Sikah (سکہ) is written over مبارک but on the coins of Shāh Jahān III it is with سکہ

5. Where on the coins of Shāh Jahān II سکہ is engraved, on the coins of Shāh Jahān III ک of مبارک is placed.

Let us see the mint-marks, weights and size of the coins

Mint Marks

The mint mark, on the coins of Shāh Jahan III may be noted only on the coins of Azimābād mint.

Shāh Jahān II	Shāh Jahān III
Azimābād	
Mint Mark	

WEIGHTS AND SIZE

Shāh Jahān II			Shāh Jahān III		
		Shāhjahānābād			
BMC,	945	W. 167 S. 90	*BMC*,	1091	S. 1.15
PMC,	2295	W. 172 S. 80			

LMC, 3753 W. 168.5
S. 90

IMC, 1830 W. 175
S. 85

1831 W. 174
S. 85

In none of the catalogues of Mughal coins, the weight and size of the coins of Shāh Jahān III's Shāhjahānābād mint are given and therefore it is difficult to reach on any conclusion. However, in *BMC* only the size of the coin is supplied and from this it may be inferred that the coins of Shāh Jahān III of this mint were slightly bigger.

Islāmābād

BMC, 1086 W. 168
S. .85

Not mentioned

PMC, 2950 W. 170
S. 85

Here again we face the same difficulty and therefore it is difficult to say any thing on this point.

Azīmābād

BMC, 953 W. 178
S. .95

IMC, 2265 W. 179
S. .90

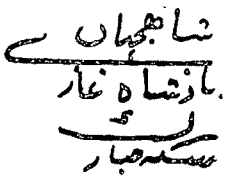
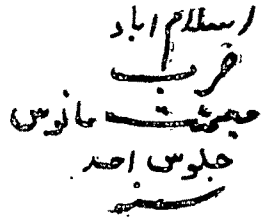
2266 W. 178
S. .83

It appears that the standard weight of the coins of this mint in the time of both the rulers was 180 grains. However, it may be noted *at this stage* that the coins of Shāh Jahān III of this mint were very slightly thicker than the coins of Shāh Jahān II.

On the basis of the above noted characteristic features, we may be able to assign the undated coin to any ruler, viz., Shāh Jahān II and III, with certainty and assertion may be made on the doubted attribution.

The undated coins of Islāmābād mint attributed to Shāh Jahān III are held by Whitehead to have been issued by Shāh Jahān II.[1] However, he afterwards in the *Catalogue of Panjab Museum* attributes the coin No. 2850 to Shāh Jahān III.[2] This coin is as follows :

1. NS, XI, p. 338.
2. *PMC*, p. 877.

Obv.  Rev. 

On this coin *Shāhjahān* is written in this manner: شاهجہاں. This is the characteristic of the coins of Shāh Jahān III.

One undated coin No. 2261 of Azīmābād mint is assigned to Shāh Jahān III in *IMC*[1] by H. Nelson wright as "the chief guide to the assignation of this coin is the mint-mark, which, since the reign of Ahmad Shah, appears on all the coins of the Azīmābād mint."[2] The style of writing the legend is also totally similar to the dated coins of Azīmābād mint of Shāh Jahān III. Another coin No. 2266 in *IMC* of the same mint is correctly attributed to Shāh Jahān as it has the mint mark  [3] which is seen from the coins of Ahmadshāh and the legend written in the same fashion.

One coin No. 4248 of Akbarābād mint in *LMC* on the basis of the "traces of date over جہاں is attributed by C.J. Brown to Shāh Jahān III.[4] But the traces are not so clear and sufficient that the date 1173 or 1174 can be made on them. The reverse of the present coin shows the characteristics of the reverse of the coins of Shāh Jahān III and hence it may go with certainty to Shāh Jahān III. Another coin No. 2263 of this mint is also assigned by H. Nelson Wright in *IMC*[5] "to Shāh Jahān III in preferenee to Shāh Jahān II on account of the inferiority in execution with the coins of the latter King."[6] This attribution is confirmed by the reverse type of Shāh Jahān III seen on this coin. The dateless coin No. 1896 of this mint attributed to Shāh Jahān III in the *Supplement of Indian Museum Catalogue* shows the characteristics of the coinage of this ruler.

1 *IMC*, p. 266.
2. *Ibid*, f. n. I.
3. *Ibid*, p. 267, pl. XIX.
4. *LMC*, p. 389, pl. XIX.
5. *IMC*, p. 266, pl. XIX.
6. *Ibid*, f. n. 3.

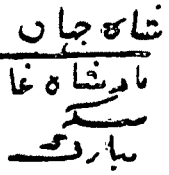
One undated coin No. 2296 of Itāwā mint has been found in *PMC*[1] but it has the similar fabric as noticed on the dated coins of Shāh Jahān II of this mint recorded in *IMC*, No. 1827,[2] and *LMC*, No. 3754, 3754a.[3]

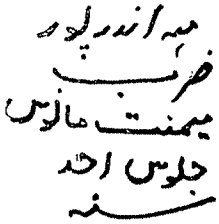
The coin Nos. 4486 and 4487 in *LMC* are rightly attributed to Shāh Jahān III as they have the fabric of class I[4] of Mahā Indrapur mint.

The undated coin No. 2313 of Mumbai mint in *PMC* is called of Shāh Jahān II by Whitehead.[5] One dated coin of this mint of Shāh Jahān II recorded in the *Supplement of Catalogue*[6] *of Indian Museum*, exhibits the same characterstics; hence the undated coin of *PMC* may go with the coins of Shāh Jahān II. Some coins registered in the name of Muhammad Shāh by Stanley Lane-Poole dated in 1131 A. H.[7] are really of Shāh Jahān II. We know that in 1716-1717 (1129 A. H.) in 5th regnal year Farrukhsiyar permitted East India Company to coin money in the name of the Mughal Emperors. Of the coin Nos. 68, 69, 70 the

1. *PMC*, p. 315.
2. *IMC*, p. 214.
3. *LMC*, p. 325.
4. In the coins of Mahā Indrapur mint, two classes can be marked.

Class I

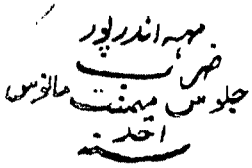
Obv. 

Rev. 

PMC, 2852.

Class II

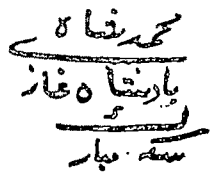
Obv. As on I

Rev. 

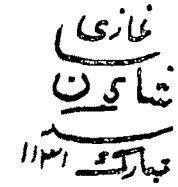
BMC, 1090; *IMC*, 2268

5. *PMC*, p. 318.
6. *SIMC*, p. 157, No. 1524.
7. *BMC*, p. 278, Nos. 68, 69, 70.

fabric of obverse goes against Muhammad Shāh. On the obverse of the coins of Muhammad Shāh the arrangement is made as such[1] :—



On the aforesaid coins the legend is in this manner :—



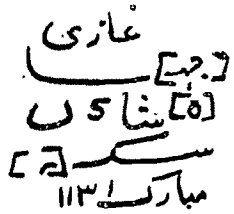
Here two points are worth to be considered.

The most important is that what was the sense of putting the letter ں on the coins of Muhammad Shāh. It fails to represent any meaning. The fact is that this is the last letter of the name of Shāh Jahān ; شاہجہاں

The point is that the *Kāf* of *Mubārak* is not written above سکہ مبار like the coins of Muhammad Shāh but on this coin the word *Sikah* is written in the third line above *Mubārak* which is in fourth line.

The date ۱۱۳۱ also goes with Shāh Jahān II.

The letters of the obverse of these coins can be read as follows:



1. *LMC*, p. 361, No. 4210, pl. XVII, *PMC*, p. 348, No. 358 ; *BMC*, p. 279, No. 72, pl. XXXI.

On the undated coin of this mint catalogued in *PMC* and the dated coin in *SIMC* of the Bombay mint the word *Ghāzī* is written on the top and *Sikkah* over *Mubārak* like the coins of *BMC*. And hence there is no place of doubting the attribution of this coin to Shāh Jahān II.

About the undated coin No. 949 of Surat mint, which is attributed by Stanley Lane-Poole to Shāh Jahān II[1] R. B. Whitehead writes that it may be assigned to Shāh Jahān III.[2] The word *Sikkah* on the obverse of it is written in the last line—the characteristic of Shāh Jahān II's die—it may go well with this ruler. In *PMC* one undated coin 2303 of this mint is kept with the coins of Shāh Jahān II[3] but he thinks that "this may be a coin of Shāh Jahān III."[4] The specimen is unillustrated. However, from the description it appears of Shāh Jahān II. The attribution of another undated coin No. 1835 of similar fabric in *IMC* to Shāh Jahān II[5] is also correct, though H. Nelson doubted and mentions that "there is nothing to show whether this is a coin of the second or third Shāh Jahān."[6]

The undated coin No. 2302 of Sarhind mint bearing the legend Shāh Jahān catalogued in *PMC*[7] and of *SIMC*, No. 1526[8] are rightly attributed to Shāh Jahān II as, probably Sarhind after 1171 A. H. went in the hands of Sikhs.

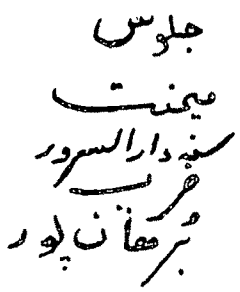
The undated coin No. 21 of Bahādurgarh[9] is rightly assigned to Shāh Jahān II, because no coin of Shāh Jahān III is discovered of any mint of Deccan.

The dateless coin of Burhānpūr mint ascribed to Shāh Jahān II[10] must be examined here.

It has following legends—

Obv. شاہ جہاں بادشاہ غازی
لکہ
سکہ بار

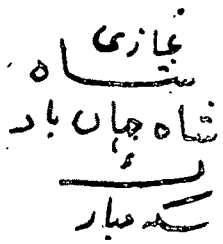
1. *BMC*, p. 195.
2. *NS*, XI, p. 335.
3. *PMC*, p. 316.
4. *Ibid*, p. 316, f. n. I.
5. *IMC*, p. 215.
6. *Ibid*, p. 215, f. n. I.
7. *PMC*, 316.
8. *SIMC*, p. 157.
9. *NS*, XXXIX, p. 16, pl. III.
10. *NS*, XII, pp. 236-7.

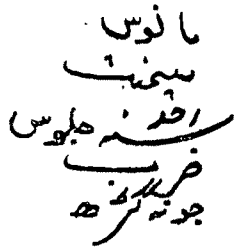
Rev. 

W. 169
S. .94

H. N. Wright mentions that "the attribution of this coin to the second Shāh Jāhan (Rafiud-daulah) is not free from doubt, but of which ever King it is it seems to be unpublished though Dr. Taylor has a rupee of this mint and reign of Shāh Jahān II."[1] The number 1 after ; of غاز is very much doubtful because Wright himself in the note does not force on the date but only says that "the regnal year 2 is noticeable." The specimen concerned is not illustrated and hence the numeral 1 should not be taken seriously. Here the main attractive point is the regnal year 2. We know Shāh Jahān III was raised to the throne on 8th Rabi II 1173 and was deposed on 29th Safar 1174. However, at this moment this coin, as it is more better, can be assigned to Shāh Jahān III.

The Junāgarh coin attributed to Shāh Jahān II[2] is as follows:

Obv. 

Rev. 

About the dateless coins of Junāgarh mint attributed to Shāh Jahān II, P. Taylor writes that "this rupee may be, but probably not, of the reign of Shāh Jahān III. It is a type that one associates with the earlier rather than with the later half of the twelfth (Hijri) century. Compare the Multan and Ajmer

1. *Ibid*, p. 237.
2. *NS*, XIX, p. 422.

rupees of Shāh Jahān II." But the style of putting the letters on the obverse does not totally resemble to the coins of Multān mint of this emperor. However, it is noted so far that no coin from this mint after Muhammad Shāh was issued[1] and hence this coin may be attributed at this stage to Shāh Jahān II.

The details of the undated coins of Ajmer mint which are ascribed to Shāh Jahān II are not available and hence it is impossible to review it. P. Taylor, though mentions that this coin "may be confidently assigned to this emperor rather than Shah Jahan III",[2] but what are the arguments in favour of this confidence are not given by him. We know on the other hand that Ajit Singh, the ruler of Jodhpur—in the time of Shah Jahan II Rifud-daulah—took his daughter back; who had been married to Farrukh Siyar, and ordered her to throw away her Musalman dress.[3] And therefore unless the dated coins of Shāh Jahān II of this mint are found, this mint may be included in Shāh Jahān III's mint list.

One coin with the legend Shāh Jahān discovered from Jaipur, Rajasthan, has been attributed to Shāh Jahān II,[4] though C. R. Singhal was hesitant in attributing it to Shāh Jahān II, as it is clear from his writing. "The coins of Shāh Jahān II and Shāh Jahān III are so identical in legend and fabric that in the absence of date, they cannot be assigned correctly. As the specimen of the Punjab Museum does not bear any date, it is not known how this coin has been assigned to Shāh Jahān II and not to Shāh Jahān III by Whitehead."[5] However, on the grounds of the above factors this coin may be attributed to Shāh Jahān III.[6]

In the case of undated mints—the mints of which no dated coin is found so far—and new mints we have to look to some other characteristics, though they may not be very correct sometimes.

(i) The letters on the coins of Shāh Jahān II are rounded but on Shāh Jahān III they are flat and beautiful.

(ii) On the coins of Shāh Jahān III, generally the *nukhtas* are big, bold and rectangular.

1. Singhal, C. R, *Mint Towns of the Mughal Emperors of India*, pp. 43ff.
2. *NS*, XIX, p. 572.
3. Elliot, H. M, *The History of India*, VII, p. 94.
4. Singhal, C. R, "Some New coins from Jaipur", *JNSI*, XX, 1958, pt. I, p. 47.
5. *Ibid.*
6. The weight, size and photograph of all the coins are not given and hence more critical and detailed study was not possible. I wanted to compare the weights of the coins with their size but inadequate informations made me afraid to have a wrong result.

A SEALING OF THE ĀTHARVAṆIKA-CHARAṆA

V. S. PATHAK

[Pl. VIII]

This terracotta sealing, oval in shape and measuring 7.2 × 6.1 cms found in Rajghat Excavations 1961 in an unstratified filling which was based on the layer 3 and sealed by humus. Stratigraphically, it can be assigned to any period after 300 A. D. The sealing contains only one impression, encircled by a reel border. The upper two-third of the flan is devoted to the device, and the remaining one-third is occupied by the legend.

The device :—In the centre, a horse-faced human figure with horns and drooping long ears, stands in *samapāda-sthānaka*, holding in extended left hand an indistinct object resembling a conch, and in the right an attribute almost wholly obliterated leaving some faint impressions of an *akshamālā* (?) represented around the hand in a circular form. The heavy breast and protruded belly are undraped—except a *kaupīna*, in fact, there does not seem to be any drapery on his body. Represented frontally, the feet look like solid hooves.

The central figure is flanked by two *maṅgala-ghaṭas* (वेदीविनिहितपल्लवललामहेमकलश) with foliage and cocoanut at the top. The *ghaṭas* are broad-rimmed with small necks and heavy bodies. On the outer sides of the *ghaṭas* are the trident-battle axe on the left, and thunderbolt on the right. Below is a two-storied pedastal with ends prominently delineated as triangular hooks.

The Legend :—*Atharvaṇika-charaṇa.*

(Pl. VIII. 3)

The Device : An Image of the Atharvaveda

We propose to identify the horse-faced human figure as Atharvaveda on the basis of authorities cited below. The present sealing furnishes for the first time a definite and positive evidence for the anthropomorphic representation of the Vedas. Of course in a verse of the *Atharvaveda*, there is a reference to the Vedas in their material form, which could be placed into and taken out of a receptacle (XIX,72). The context of the verse supplied by the *Kauśika-sūtra*, however, indicates that by 'the Veda' here, a vedic manuscript and not the image of a Veda is meant. By way of simile, Kālidāsa refers to an image of the Vedas—

मङ्गलालङ्कृता भाति कौशिक्या यतिवेषया ।
त्रयी विग्रहवत्येव सममध्यात्मविद्यया ॥

Mālavikāgnimitra, Act, I.

But the verse, at the most, will indicate that the anthropomorphic form of the Vedas was in one way or the other conceived.

The *Charaṇavyūha* probably composed in the 6th century A. D. gives as below the description of the images of the various Vedas—

ऋग्वेदः पद्मपत्राक्षः सुविभक्तग्रीवः कुञ्चितकेशश्मश्रुः श्वेतवर्णो; यजुर्वेदः पिङ्गाक्षः कृशमध्यस्थूलगलकपोलस्ताम्रवर्णः कृष्णवर्णो वा,....सामवेदः नित्यं स्रग्वी सुप्रयतः शुचिवासा शमी दान्तो बृहच्छरीरः...कातरनयन आदित्यवर्णो...; अथर्ववेदस्तीक्ष्णः प्रचण्डः कामरूपी विश्वकर्त्ता क्षुद्रकर्म्मा स्वशाखाध्यायो प्राज्ञश्च महानीलोत्पलवर्णो ।

Charaṇavyūha, Benares, 1938, IV, P. 47

Except the statement about colours which unfortunately we do not now find in early images, there is hardly any iconographic feature in the above description which may enable us to identify the images of various Vedas.

From this time onwards, however, we get some works which give us specific details on the form of Vedic images. These texts clearly evince two different traditions.

The second tradition seems to have started sometime before the 13th century A. D., whereas the first was current in c. 450 A. D. For a correct appraisal we shall begin with the second tradition. In Hemādrīś *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi* (1260—1270 A. D.) we get the following verses—

ऋग्वेदश्श्वेतवर्णस्याद्द्विभुजो रासभाननः ।
अक्षमालाधरस्सौम्यः प्रीतो व्याख्यापनोद्यतः ॥
अजास्यः पीतवर्णस्याद्यजुर्वेदोऽक्षसूत्रधृक् ।
वामे कुलिशपाणिस्तु भूतिदो मङ्गलप्रदः ॥
नीलोत्पलदलाभासः सामवेदो ह्याननः ।
अक्षमालान्वितो दक्षे वामे कुम्भधरस्स्मृतः ॥
अथर्वणाभिधो वेदो धवलो मर्कटाननः ।
अक्षमालान्वितो दक्षे वामे कुम्भधरस्स्मृतः ॥

These verses also occur in the *Nṛisiṁhaprāsāda* of Dalapati Mahārāja (1490—1512 A. D.), the *Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa* of

Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana (16th century), and the *Śrītattvanidhi* of Mummali-Krishṇarāja Oḍvyāra.

Here the images of Rig, Yajuḥ, Sāma and Atharvaṇa are described as having respectively the faces of ass, goat, horse and monkey.

The earlier tradition which was for the first time recorded in the *Jayākhya-Saṁhitā* (c. 450 A. D.), however, runs as follows—

यातुवारुणमध्ये तु वायव्यवरुणान्तरे ।
ऋग्वेदाद्यं चतुष्कं तु पीतं हयनराकृतिम् ॥

p. 97

According to it, the images of all the four Vedas should be represented in the hybrid from constituted by the dovetailment of human and horsy bodies.

It may be noted that the work containing both these two traditions of the iconography of Vedas were composed in the land to the south of the Vindhyas.

The *Jayākhya-saṁhitā* was written in Gujarat. The *Chaturvarga-Chintamaṇi* and the *Nṛisiṁha-prāsāda* were respectively composed in the Yādava territory and Hyderabad. The father of Sūtradhār Maṇḍana hailed from Gujarat and the *Śritattvanidhi* was composed in Kerala.

On the basis of the above quotation from the *Jayākhya-saṁhitā*, we identify the horse-faced human figure on the sealing as the representation of a Veda, and since the sealing belonged to the *Atharvaṇika-charaṇa* i.e. a corporate body of scholars having the Atharva as their Veda, we identify it as the image of the Atharvaveda.[1]

Up to-date, the sealings of four charaṇas—the Bāhvrichya, the Chhandoga, the Charaka and the Ātharvaṇika—have been discovered. Sealings of the Bāhvṛchya of the Ṛigveda, the Chhandoga of the Sāmaveda, and the Charaka of the Yajurveda have been discovered in fairly large numbers. But of the

1. The verse of Kālidāsa quoted above indicates that the *trayī* or the Vedic triad was anthropomorphically conceived. In this context, we would like to draw the attention of scholars to a few sealings of Traividya excavated from Nalanda. Out of the five Traividya sealings, illustrated in the *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, three show a corpulant male figure with three-heads, holding rosary in right and *maṅgala kalaśa* in left hand. In the sealing numbering S. I. 350, the side-faces of the three-headed figure are of animals, the protruding lower part of the face being quite clear. The legend *traividya*, the attributes—rosary and *maṅgala-kalaśa* and the animal faces may be taken to indicate that the three-headed figure is intended to represent the Vedic triad.

Ātharvaṇika charaṇa, however, this is the only sealing. What is intrigning is that even literature on the charaṇas does not make any reference to the Ātharvaṇika-charaṇa.

The Legend (a) Inscriptional evidence on the Ātharvaṇika-charaṇa

In Northern India, the Atharvavedins figure but rarely. During the Gupta period, there is one solitary reference to an Atharvavedin in an inscription from Kangra Valley. Later, they are mentioned in the records of the Gurjjara[1]-Pratihāras and the Chandellas.[2] There are few references in inscriptions from Bengal[3] and Gujarat[4] also. In south they seem to be fairly popular. In the Gupta period, they are mentioned in the epigraphs from Vidarbha[5], Mysore and Belgaum district. Later, of course, there are frequent references in south Indian inscriptions.

The *Ātharvaṇika-charaṇa*, however, is mentioned only once in inscriptions. In the Basim Copper Plate of Vindhya Śakti II, there is the unique reference to the settlement of the Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Atharvaṇika-charaṇa at Akāśapadraka village in Vidarbha.

(b) Palæography of the legend

Following are the striking features—

(i) Letters *'a'*, *'ka'* and *'ra'* have the vertical doubled at the lower end. The bend at the lower part of the vertical is angular. This is South Indian characteristic found in inscriptions of the 6th century A. D. The curving of verticles is found in the Udayagiri and Sanchi inscriptions of Chandragupta II also, but the extended and angular bend of verticles is seen in none of the North Indian inscriptions.

(ii) *'va'* is of two varieties—one with a triangular base, and the other with a broad square body generally found in South Indian inscriptions.

(iii) *'ṇa'* is of the open-mouthed variety found in North Indian epigraphs from the Allahabad Praśasti of Samudragupta to the Gwalior inscription of Mihirabhoja.

(iv) Square form of *'tha'* with a mid-line found in North Indian inscriptions.

1. *IA*, XV, p. 140.
2. *EI*, IV, p. 157.
3. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, p. 112.
4. *IA*, XIII, pp. 81-87.
5. *Select Ins*, p. 40.

The script is, therefore, pre-eminently south Indian with some North Indian characteristics. The seal seems to have been prepared sometime in the 6th century A. D. to the south of the Vindhyas.

The evidence of palæography is corroborated by the literary tradition of the Vedic iconography and inscriptional data in as much as all the texts giving the description of vedic images were composed in South, and the only epigraphic reference to the *Ātharvaṇika charaṇa* occurs in the Basim Copper Plate of Vindhya Sakti II.

The Method of Affixing Sealings

The front side of the sealing which bears the device and the legend is flat, but the back is semi-globular with a rectangular depression measuring about 2.6 × 7 cms, with preminent grooves on the sides and very shallow grooves at the top and bottom. The rectangular depression seems to have been caused by pressing a hard and yet malleable substance on the sealing when moist. Such grooves are found on some sealings excavated at Basarh by Bloch who thought that they were made by "some instrument, perhaps the brood side of knife".[1]

The rectangular depression is horizontally divided into two unequal parts by three irregular depressions, one over the other, two of which might have been caused by the imprinting of the palm-leaf, the remaining thin line-like depression might have been due to a palm-leaf fillet used for binding the upper part of the palm-leaf letter.

The sealing is of the unbaked clay, except the left extreme section of the back side which is tainted red indicating that it was slightly heated after it was attached to the document.

From literature, we get little bits of information on the method of sealing documents. There seems to have been three kinds of sealing devices. On documents written in metal, a metallic sealing was affixed by means of a ring. The second mode was to the impression of seal in ink by stamping it on the object. A late work refers to this mode in the following verse—

न वोदयालोहितमिन्दु बिम्बं विदिद्युते पार्वणमम्बरान्ते ।
सायाह्नमुद्राधिकृतेन धातुद्रव्येण संन्यस्तमिवैक चिह्नम् ॥

1. *ASI. AR.*, 1903-04, p. 101.

The ruddy and full orb of the moon on the verge of horizon looks like the impression of a stamp imprinted on cloth by the Evening seal Officer in ink prepared out of mineral colours. (धातुद्रव्य cp. त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैः शिलायाम्, उत्तरमेघ; न्यस्ताक्षराः धातुरसेन यत्र भूर्जत्वचः, कुमारसंभव, I, 7. but *contra* तमालरस विन्यस्ताक्षरं तालीपत्रं, महावीरचरित II, 48).

The practice of stamping the cloth is further borne out by an incidental reference to it in the *Mudrā-rākshasa*. "By now, since Kusumapura is near, none that does not possess a passport (मुद्रा) is allowed to leave or enter the camp. So if you are imprinted with the seal of Bhāgurāyaṇa you may safely go; otherwise stay" (*Mudrā-rākshasa*, act, V). The phrase "if you are imprinted with the seal" has been correctly interpreted by Dhruva (*Ibid*, Poona, 1923 p. 154) as indicating that the cloth worn by the entrant to the capital was to be stamped. Probably same mode has been mentioned in the *Puṇṇanadī Jātaka*, where it is stated that a letter was to be wrapped in a piece of cloth over which the seal was imprinted. For ensuring the safety and authenticity of objects for a short period, this mode seems to have been employed. The *Milinda-paṅho*, in the course of a philosophical disputation, records "पुन च परं महाराज निय्यामको यन्ते मुद्दिकं देति—मा कोचि यन्तं आमसित्था ति—And again, O king, as the pilot puts a seal on the steering apparatus lest any one should tamper it."

The third mode was to affix terracotta sealings on documents, and, here two different methods were employed. In the first, wooden tablets were used as envelops for documents. They were tied with strings and over the knot a terracotta sealing was fixed.

These envelops consisting of wooden tablets may be classified into three different groups. The double-wedge and the double rectangular tablets discovered at Niya were used in the 3rd century A. D. for Kharoṣṭhi documents. The third group of tablets discovered at Rawak and ascribed to the 8th century A. D., resembles with the Niya double rectangular tablets in shape but differs from them since the former have simple under-tablets in place of side-rimmed under tablets. Further, the Rawak simple double rectangular tablets were used for encasing the Brāhmi documents. The method of sealing and stringing the tablets differed in all the three varieties.

Such envelops containing documents were known as *Kāchanakī* (Jaṭādhara quoted in the *Vāchaspatyam*) or *Kāchanaka* (लेखो

निबध्यते येन तत्तु काचनकाभिधा, *Hārāvalī*, 54; also *Kāchana* in लेखो वाचिकहारिकः। वर्णदूतः स्वस्तिमुखः काचनं तन्निबन्धनम्। *Trikāṇḍaśesha*, II, 8, 28). It is called kāchana, kāchanaka or kāchanakī because it resembles a pingo (*kācha*) in the form of a carrying-pole with a looped rope in the middle fastened with a basket (अन्तराकाचं, *Vinayapiṭaka*, II. 137; काचनरूपनिबन्धनत्वात्). It is interesting to note that *kapāṭikā*, another word for pingo, is also used to indicate such enveloped containing documents. Sudṛishṭi in the *Harshacharita* is described as having kept in hand a *Kapāṭikā* containing the manuscript of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (कतिपयपत्रलच्छीं कपाटिकाम्, p. 85).

The second method of affixing terracotta sealings is simpler. It consists in folding to either the top or the bottom of the palm-leaf document, and tying its folds with a palm-leaf band the ends of which were inserted in the clay, which was then imprinted with the seal. Sometimes in place of palm-leaf band, a piece of cloth was used (Shastri, *Nālanda and its Epigraphic Material*, p. 27). Fortunately, in the Bhārata Kalā Bhavana, Banaras Hindu University, a palm-leaf document issued by the king Jayājitamitra Malla of Nepal dated in N. S. 806 is preserved along with an intact terracotta sealing fixed at the top. From the photographs reproduced here, the method of affixing the terracotta sealing may be clearly understood **(Pl. VIII. 4-5)**.

Literature helps us in understanding further stages. From an incidental reference in the *Harshacharita*, we learn that the lump of clay, attached to the end of cloth or palm-leaf band should be soft and nearly dry (मृदुमृदि and मंदाश्यानपङ्कपटल) over which a metallic seal was impressed (वृषाङ्कामभिनवघटितां हाटकमयीं मुद्रामुपनिन्ये। जग्राह तां राजा....। मन्दाश्यानपङ्कपटले मृदुमृदि सरस्वती तीरे स्फुटं व्यराजन्त राजयो वर्णान्तम्।) Then, that the names of the sender and the addressee with an indication of the content of letter were written is known from the *Mudrārākshasa* (एभिरक्षरैः केनापि कस्यापि किमपि स्वयं वाच्यमदत्तबाह्यानं लेख, *Mudrārākshasa*, Act V).

After it, the leaf was rolled up and tied with strings—(see लेखं च नाट्येनोद्वेष्टयति, *Mālnvikāgnimitra*, Act V, and मुद्रां परिपालयन्नुद्वेष्टय दर्शय, *Mudrārākshasa*, Act V). Or, it was placed into a circular case of cloth. Kurangka is stated to have carried the letter of Prabhākaravardhana's illness to Harsha in a blue fillet-like case of cloth tied on the head as a garland. (लेखगर्भया नीलीमेचकरुचा चीरचोरिकया रचितमुण्डमालम्). The *Praśasti Ratnākara*

of Dalapati probably composed in the 18th century states that the letter may be placed in an embroidered silken case (विचित्र-वराम्बर कोशिकायां निक्षिप्य).

A letter addressed to high personages was accompanied with presents, termed as *aśūnyārtha* (अस्माभिर्लेखस्याशून्यार्थं किंचिद-नुप्रेषितम्, *Mudrārākshasa*, Act V, p. 70; also लेखस्याशून्यार्थमार्येण इदमाभरणमनुप्रेषितम्, *ibid*, V, p. 75 ; cf अस्मत्स्वामिना संदेशमशून्यतां नयता पूर्वोपार्जितं वारुणातपत्रं, *Harshacharita*, V). Such presents were also authenticated by stamps.

From the examination of the present sealing and the little pieces of information from literature, it appears that the top of the palm-leaf document was folded and tied with palm-leaf strings, the ends of which were inserted into a nearly dry and soft clod of earth, with flattened and smooth surface on the front side and semi-spherical on the back. The seal was stamped on the front flattened side. After the earth is dried, the sealing on one side was baked a little under strictly controlled heating condition.

In fine, we may state that the present sealing, attached to a letter or some other type of document, was brought from the settlement from the settlement of the Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Atharvaṇika-Charaṇa. Further on one basis of literary tradition of the iconography of the Vedas, and palaeographical characters of the legend, it may be added that it came sometime in c. 550-600 A. D. from the region south of the Vindhyas.

ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN INDIA

BALRAM SRIVASTAVA

The *Periplus* indicates that a large number of Roman gold and silver coins were imported into the market—towns of Barygaza, Muziris and Nelcynda.[1] The import of these coins in the markets of Muziris and Nelcynda, however, was in a greater quantity than Barygaza. E. H. Warmington commenting on this situation remarks that the taking of money to the Chera Kingdom was much more profitable than the import of imperial wares into that kingdom.[2] The Tamil poems of the so called "Sangam Age" (earlier Christian eras)[3] contain reference to *yavanas* importing gold into Muziris and other ports of the Tamil land.[4] Discoveries since 1775 of sixty eight finds of Roman gold and silver coins have fully corroborated this literary evidence.[5] It may be indicated here that the literary evidences quite clearly show that the imported gold coins were brought to India in exchange of pepper. There is however a great deal of controversy regarding the economic significance of these coin hoards.[6]

Pliny and Tacitus have stated that the drain of Roman currency into India was in exchange of its commercial products.[7] But according to E. H. Warmington the eastward movement of Roman money took place in two forms ; merchants carrying on large transactions with foreign countries found gold coins a necessity for external commerce, while the silver coins were essential for small exchange. And thus much of the Roman money was taken to India by Roman subjects in order to buy up in bulk the commodities that they were

1. W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 39, 49, 56.
2. Warmington, E. H, *Commerce between Roman Empire and India* pp. 276-277
3. K. A. N. Sastri, *Colas*, I, p. 3.
4. Kannakasabhai Pillai, *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 25-27.
5. Wheeler. R.E.M., *Rome Beyond its Imperial Frontiers*, pp. 164-165.
6. *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, pp. 274-277 ; *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp 192-193, 219-220.
7. Pliny remarks 'in no year does India drain us of less than 550,000,000 sesterces giving back her own wares, *Pliny*. VI. 26. Likewise is the complaint in 22 A. D. of the Emperor Tiberius to the Roman Senate stating that 'How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of faminine vanity and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets, which drain the empire of its wealth, and sends in exchange for babuls, the money of the common wealth to foreign nations. Tacitus, *Annals*, III. 53.

unable to get by exchanging imperial products. But besides this natural condition of wholesale trade there was a "deliberate exportation" of Roman money to India to create a Roman currency there."[1]

The reasons for such 'deliberate exportation' has been further explained by Warmington, thus :[2]

1. In India there was dearth of commercial coinage, particularly in the dominion of the Śakas, where coins of Apollodotus and Menander were current even during the earlier centuries of our era.

2. Tamilians, whose coins were made of base metals, of little exchange value, allowed Romans to introduce their own coinage of gold and silver (with a view probably to facilitate their international commerce).

The dearth of commercial coins in the Śaka territory is ill founded and the statement of *Periplus* that the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were current in the Śaka territory is vague and misleading.[3] The absence of the coins of these two kings among the archaeological finds of this region and the abundance of coins of silver and copper of the Śakas in that territory, however, is not indicative of such a dearth. It is also note worthy that though *Periplus* has mentioned Barygaza as the port where gold and silver coins were particularly imported by Romans, there is no numismatic evidence to corroborate it as no hoard of Roman coins has been found as yet, near about Barygaza. According to the map of Wheeler, Barygaza has yielded only one Roman coin and that too belongs to a time later than that of *Periplus*.[4] Warmington has also argued that the reason for the absence of Roman silver coins in N. W. of the Cheras is that the "Śakas coined silver, and Āndhras also helped their own issues of lead and copper by issues of silver, importation of which was thus found by the Romans to be atleast unnecessary ; what they did bring and exchanged was perhaps melted down and then reissued by Andhras and Śakas who coined no gold."[5] Now, if the main purpose of the import of Roman currency was to facilitate commercial transactions how can one believe that Āndhras melted them. Such an act would

1. *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, p. 274.
2. *Commerce between Roman Empire and India* p. 277.
3. A. K. Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, pp. 68-69.
4. According to wheeler's assignment, this coin belongs to 2nd century A. D. The other coin found near about Barygaza is not correctly identified as Roman. The date of the coin is also not certain. cf. R. E. M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond its Imperial frontiers*, p. 195.
5. *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, pp. 288-289.

defeat the very purpose of the currency exchanged. Even Warmington finds it difficult to remain consistent in presuming the death of commercial currency in the Śaka territory. Therefore thus in one place he presumes the dearth of commercial coinage in Śaka territory,[1] in another he says that there was no such dearth.[2] Thus, he himself finds it difficult to confirm the statement of *Periplus* concerning the "so called dearth of commercial coins" in Barygaza. (The other point about melting of the Roman coins by the Śakas and Āndhras imported into Barygaza is also based on conjectures. Of course, the design of the coins of Nahapāṇa was influenced by the Roman coins as their Greek legend suggests,[3] but the melting condition is not properly attested. Again, if it is to be accepted that these were melted, it naturally indicates that the Roman coins imported in to Barygaza actually had no currency significance in the Indian markets, particularly in the Śaka and the Āndhra territories)

In the story of Apollonius it is stated that for all those traders of Rome and Pārthia who came to trade with India, it was necessary to buy things in the Indian markets with the 'Indian stuff of archaic and black brass.'[4] This really refers to the indigenous currency of cheap metal circulating throughout Indian markets. Now if this statement of Apollonius is to be believed, which appears quite reasonable, then all the foreign traders of Pārthia and Rome had to purchase or exchange the native currency with their precious metal currency of silver and gold for purchasing the Indian commodities for which they had no adequate exchangeable commodity. This presumption may be confirmed from a passage of *Periplus* in which he informs us that at Barygaza such exchanges of coins were actually made between Romans and Indian traders.[5]

In such exchanges according to *Periplus*, were the Romans who had an advantageous position.[6] Warmington holds that Romans exchanged their coins of gold and silver with the coins of Śakas and Āndhras which were not of precious metals.[7] But we do not know in what way the Romans were in advantageous position ? When they exchanged the gold and silver with the indigenous currency of base metals, naturally it can be presumed that the token base metal coins had more purchasing power in

1. *ibid*, pp. 274-75.
2. *ibid*, pp. 288-89.
3. Rapson *BMC, AWK*, pp. C. XCIV ; *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, p. 290.
4. Philostratus, *Appollonius of Tyana*. II. 7.
5. *Periplus of the Erytiraean Sea*, 44.
6. *Ibid*, 49.
7. *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, pp. 277-278.

Indian markets than the Roman gold and silver coins of the same weight. Further, it cannot be said that gold and silver as metals were not known to Indians or that their bullion value was not fixed in the Indian markets. The traces of imitation of the design of Roman coins on the coins of the Śakas particularly of Nahapāna, though doubtful, may be taken as an Indian attempt to standardize the type and weight of their coins in relation to Roman coins for facilitating the exchange of currency with the Roman traders. The equality of the weight of Roman *aurei* and Kushāṇa *denarius* may suggest the same significance. This assumption leads us to the following conclusions:—

1. Exchange of currency in India was a necessary condition for Roman traders for those purchases for which they had no adequate exchangable commodity.
2. As the use of Indian currency, which the Romans obtained through exchange was limited in the Indian markets they consumed all of it for purchasing goods in the Indian markets. This may explain the absence of Indian coins among the finds of the western and Roman excavated sites. Had the use of Indian currency been wide in the international markets they would have been found outside India also.
3. For Indians, the value of foreign money thus obtained from Roman traders was nothing more than bullion, therefore, these coins either were melted for making ornaments or were hoarded as gold and silver bullion.

It is strange that though out of seventy eight finds, fifty-seven finds are from the South of the Vindhya and twenty-nine from the Tamil region, no port below Nelcynda in the time of *Periplus* has been mentioned as importing Roman coins.[1] According to Warmington, in the Tamil region, where there was an absence of gold and silver currency, no exchange took place between the currencies of Romans and Tamilians. Hence, besides the natural exchange practices a portion of Roman gold and silver currency was imported as commodity to be purchased by local traders for the introduction of gold currency system in the native states.[2]

But, whatever may be the amount of currency imported in India as commodity, it is difficult to agree with the view of Warmington that an alien currency was imported by the Tamilians for use as coins in their own country.

1. *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, p. 278.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 277-278

(Warmington also indicates that the precious coins brought by Romans were not recognized as currency by the then ruling princes of the Cholas and the Pandyas. If the exchange or purchase of Roman coins was only the concern of local merchants, and the state had no hand in it, then it would follow that the Tamil traders purchased the Roman gold and silver coins for hoarding them as bullion being fully conscious of their metallic value. Wheeler also confirms this view.) While expressing doubts about the role of the Roman coins in an alien economy he has accepted openly that most part of it (coins) was employed not as currency but as bullion and the imported coins can only have been used as bullion to be weighed out in exchange for goods or silver and gold ornaments.[1]

(Numismatic evidence is also available to show that the Tamilians accepted the Roman gold and silver coins from alien traders only as bullion.) We find that during the reign of Nero, Roman traders had to take particular pains to collect gold coins of earlier Roman Kings, which had high gold content for utilising them to purchase goods in the Indian markets for, Nero had debased the Roman currency during his regime. But after sometime, when old and genuine Roman gold coins were not available to Roman merchants for use in the Indian markets their trade with India was completely stopped. This fall in trade came about particularly when Vespasian imposed[2] restrictions on the export of gold, probably on public complaint of which we get a glimse in Pliny's famous regret.[3] This fact is fully confirmed by the numismatic and archaeological evidences.

In India also, the kings, as we have stated above disapproved the use of Roman coins as currency. As minting at that time was under state control, therefore, government took serious note of all attempts of Roman traders of circulating their coins in Indian markets which could affect the national economy. In fact, to ward off such attempts the government did resort to the mutilation of Roman coins.[4] The gold coins of Rome imported in India as Wheeler remarks 'were liable to be pierced for suspension or mutilated by a cut across the obverse.'[5] (In the Tamil region, where the Romans had a trade colony, it is striking to note that not a single coin we have found so far bearing any sign of Roman imitation. In the later half of the first century and in the second century,

1. *Rome beyond its Imperial Frontiers*, p. 167.
2. *Rome beyond its Imperial Froneiers*, p. 166.
3. Pliny, XII. 94; VI. 101.
4. *Numismatic chrouicle*, 3rd series, XVIII (1898), p. 320; *Rome beyond its Imperial Frontier*, p. 169.
5. *Ibid*, p. 166; *Rome beyond its Imperial Frontiers*, p. 166.

as the numismatic evidences show, a change seems to have come in the nature and the scope of Indo-Roman trade. According to Sewell after Vespasian the Romans began to give preference to markets of Saurāshtra. Thereafter the approach of Roman traders to Tamil land was rare.[1] Warmington, while admitting partial cessation of Roman trade in Tamil land, believes that the change virtually was not in the nature or scope of trade but was in the medium of exchange. He opines that after Vesapasian when the export of gold was stopped the exchange of goods was carried on between the Tamilians and the Romans on the basis of barter.[2] But, it is difficult to believe that if the Roman traders had created a system of gold and silver coins for the exchange of goods in Tamil land, it could have been stopped all too suddenly and the Tamil traders would have reverted back to the barter system to the exclusion of all coinage in their transactions.

We can thus conclude that gold and silver Roman currency in Indian markets, had no value except that of bullion.

1. *JRAS*, 1904, p. 615-17.
2. *Commerce between Roman Empire and India*, pp. 393-94.

MISCELLANEA

I

A COPPER COIN OF WIMA KADAPHISES DISCOVERED IN AURANGABAD

[Pl. IV]

A Copper coin of the Kushaṇa ruler Wima Kadphises was recently discovered in the Aurangabad city. The coin was first noticed by a labourer who was excavating the foundation of a building in a locality called Jinsi in the city.

Following is the description of the copper coin :

Copper, round ; 1.1 inch weight—15.6 grams.

Inscription on both the sides blurred—A few letters can be made out. The reconstructed legend will be : महरजस सर्वलोक ईश्वरस महेश्वरस विमकठफिसस त्रतरस.

Obverse

The king, sacrificing at altar, Trident, club.

Reverse

Śiva facing, holding trident, railing against a bull.

Pl. IV. 1

Aurangabad, now the seat of the Marathwada divisional offices in the Maharashtra state is situated on the Kham river in Lat. 19-53 north and Long 75 22′ 46″ east.

The city was known as Khirki in the pre-Mughal days. During the Prime-ministership of Malik Ambar Khirki had served as the capital of the Ahmednagar Kingdom. Malik Ambar's successor Fata Khan changed the name of Khirki to Fatenagar. After the Mughals captured Daulatabad in 1633 Fatenagar with the rest of Nizamshahi territories fell into the possession of the Mughals. In 1663 when Prince Aurangzeb was appointed Viceroy of the Dakhan for the second time, he made Fatenagar his capital and renamed it Aurangabad.

While the medieval history of Aurangabad can be documented on the basis of ample material, its early history still remains obscure in absence of any historical evidence.

The antiquity of Aurangabad, however, goes back to early historic period is vouchsafed by an epigraphic record from Kanheri Caves. The copper coin of Wima Kadaphises found in the Aurangabad city, further attests the evidence of the Kanheri inscription.

A Kanheri[1] Cave inscription of the 1st century A. D. records a number of endowments, given by a Buddhist disciple, out of which Buddhist excavations were completed at Abalika-vihar, Kaliana, Paithana and Rajatalaka in the Paithanapatha. I propose to identify the Rajatalaka of this inscription with modern Aurangabad.

The Buddhist excavations of the early historical period near Aurangabad correspond to the description of the site as given in this inscription. Aurangabad is situated on the trade routes of the ancient period. Three ancient trade routes meet at Aurangabad.

The nomenclature Rajatalaka might have been suggested by the lake overlooking the Buddhist Caves near Aurangabad. The present Harasood tank might be the very site of an ancient lake.

The Buddhist caves in the precipitious scarp of the hills to the north of Aurangabad suggest that the place must have been a centre of importance since we know from the Vinaya texts that Buddhist monastic settlements were permittted to be established not very far from and not yet very near to large centres of population.

The choice of the site for Buddhist monastery seems to have been determined partly by the existence of a flourishing centre of administration or of trade and commerce, which lay by the side of the ancient carvan highway that led from the ancient Western Coastal ports of Supparaka, Kaliana through the Nasik region and Pitalkhora, when the route crossed the Indhyadri then through Ellora (Ancient Elapur) and Devagiri, terminating at Paithan, the capital of the Sātavāhanas. It is this Sārthavāha patha (carvan trade route) which is now represented by the Paithan-Aurangabad-Ellora, Chalisgaon-Manmad-Nasik-Thana road.

There seem to have been two more ancient routes which met at Aurangabad; one route going straight northwards from Paithan via Aurangabad-Ellora-Pitalkhora to Ajanta and from Ajanta again straight north to Ujjaiyini and Vidiśa and the other

1. *Arch. Surv. of W. India*, V, p. 75.

route connecting Rajatalak (Aurangabad) with Ajanta-Vidiśa highway through Bhogavar-dhana (modern Bhokardana) whose citizens have left their inscriptions at Sanchi and Bharhut.

Thus in the early historical period Aurangabad must have served as a trading and a contentment centre for the Sātavāhana rulers of Paithan.

The Kushāṇa coins have not so far been reported from Maharashtra. The present copper coin, to my knowledge, is the first Kushana coin to be discovered in this region. Archaeological excavations at Newase, Paithan, Nasik, Kolhapur and Ter have not revealed a single Kushana coin so far.

The copper coin of Wima Kadaphises noticed here is a solitary Kushana coin discovered in Maharashtra. The coin, however, calls for a fresh appraisal of the relations between North India under Kushanas and Dakshiṇāpatha under the Sātavāhanas.

Wima Kadaphises' date has been fixed now as the middle of the first century A.D. According to the chronological scheme of the Sātavāhanas worked out by the late Vidya Sagar Bakhle, Wima Kadaphises was the contemporary of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi.

A folk tale[1] from Punjab has for its theme a fatal contest between one Siri Kapasa and Salahana ; in which Prince Salahana physically eliminates his adversary.

If a folk tale is supposed to contain any fragment of racial memory of a historical incident, then this Punjabi folk tale needs to be interpreted in a historical setting. Though there is no compelling evidence to reach a final conclusion about the identity of Salahana and Siri Kapasa of this Punjabi folk tale, I can't resist the idea of identifying Salahana with the Sātavāhana ruler Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi and Siri Kapasa with Wima Kadaphises.

This identification is further supported by the proud claim of Gautami Balaśri in her Nasik[2] inscription that her son Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi had exterminated the *Śaka-Yavana-Pahalava* etc. Balaśri in all probability was making a reference to her son's heroic encounter with the Kushaṇa ruler Wima Kadaphises.

1. S. A. Joglekar, *ABORI.*, XXVII.
2. *Arch. Surv. W. India*, IV, 108.

Gautami Balaśri[1] has also described the victorious cavalry of Gautamiputra as तिसमुद्ततोयपतिवाहन. The तिसमुद् of this epithet can be identified with the three great rivers of Punjab.

The copper coin of Wima Kadaphises, noted here, does not present any new variety. Cunningham, Allan and Smith have published coins of this type with the legend महरजस रजतिरजस सर्वलोकइश्वरस महेश्वरस विमकठफिसस त्रतरस.

Wima Kadaphises has not been credited with the conquest of any part of the Deccan. The copper coin of this ruler might have passed into the Deccan through the commercial contact or it might have reached the Sātavāhana territory along with the victorious army of the Sātavāhanas returning from a north Indian campaign.

To sum up, the discovery of this coin in the Aurangabad points to the antiquity of the city.

The coin also suggests the contact between the Sātavāhana Deccan and the territories under Kushana ruler in North India.

The connection might be of a purely commercial and cultural nature, or the commercial contact might have synchronised with the military contest between the Sātavāhana and Kushana rulers of the first century.

P. V. RANADE

2

A RARE COPPER COIN OF HUVISHKA

[Pl. IV]

After the summer rains of 1963 a big and important hoard comprising well over five hundred copper coins of the Imperial Kushanas was discovered somewhere in the Patiala district of the Punjab (India). The exact find-spot and the circumstances leading to the discovery could not be traced. Never before so big and interesting a find of the Kushana coins in this region is on record. The coins are generally rusty and legends partly visible. Sixty five coins which are comparatively in better condition were acquired by me for the Rao Harnarain Singh Dhan Singh collection of antiquities in February, 1964.

1. *Arch. Surv. W. India*, IV, 108.

The hoard consisted of large size copper issues of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka along with a single coin of Huvishka. The coins of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka were in the ratio 1 : 4. The composition of the hoard leads us to the conclusion that it was buried in the very beginning of Huvishka's reign i.e. in or about 150 A. D. In other words this hoard remained buried in the earth for a little over one thousand and eight hundred years. From the appearance and condition of the coins of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, it so appears that most of them remained in brisk circulation till their burial.

On the obverse of the coins of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka the king is depicted standing as usual holding out something in hand and giving it in worship by way of sacrifice on an alter. On the reverse of the coins of Wima Kadphises Śiva is shown standing by the side of the Nandi bull ; but on the reverse of Kanishka's coins is portrayed a large number of Hindu and Zorastrian deities.

The obverse of the solitary coin of Huvishka in the hoard referred to above bears the full portrait of the king as a robust young man. The king is diademed, fillets or ends of the diadem flowing to left. He is looking intently turning his head to the right while reclining on a low cushioned couch, right knee tucked up.[1] The legend in Greek script and Iranian language "pAo (NANopAo oohpKI) KopANo" is partly blurred. The legend begins at I and ends at XI.

On the reverse, in a dotted circle is a drapped goddess standing to right. There is an encircling garland from over head to hips. She is holding something in her left hand. There is a dim Kushaṇa symbol on her right. The legend in Greek script, NANA[2] runs on the left of the goddess from down upwards **[Pl .IV. 2].**

The weight of the Huvishka copper coin under reference is 237 grains or 15.357 grammes, while its size is one inch.

1. There are copper coins of Huvishka "king reclining on couch" type in the Lahore and Calcutta Museums, but there the king is facing and looks middle-aged on all those coins.
2. "NANA" was an Assyro-Babylonian goddess whose worship was eventually merged in that of Ishtar—"the great mother"—goddess of all fertility and most important of the pantheon, goddess of war among the Assyrians, armed with bow, arrows, sword and consuming flames. As goddess of sexual love, Venus was her planet, and she was worshipped as the queen and mistress of heavan. She slew her spouse Tammuz and restored him to life after a period of mourning, her action typifying the earth in its destruction and restoration of vegetation with the seasons. She was worshipped throughout western Asia under a great variety of names and forms, compare Astarte and Astoreth.

The maximum weight of large size coins of Wima Kadphises, Kanishka and Huvishka so far recorded is 270 grains (17. 496 grammes). The Imperial Kushanas also minted middle and small size copper coins.

A pretty large number of Huvishka's copper coins are listed and described by R. B. whitehead in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I. Out of the whole lot there is only one coin bearing the partrait of Goddess NANA in the elephant-rider category. Vincent A. Smith does not mention any copper issue of Huvishka with "NANA" in his *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I.

From a study of this copper coin of Huvishka discovered after a burial of eighteen hundred years I am inclined to infer that this coin of Huvishka with Goddess "NANA" on reverse was struck and put into circulation in the beginning of his reign and there is little wonder that coins with 'NANA' on reverse were considered most auspicious to start with keeping in view the mighty portion of this Goddess in the pantheon.

UTTAM SINGH RAO

3.

A NOTE ON AN UNNOTICED KSHATRAPA COIN

[Pl. IV]

It is generally admitted by scholars that after the end of the rule of Kshatrapa Yaśodāman, whose last known date is (Śaka) 154 (i .e. 154 + 77-78 = A. D. 331-332)[1], the office of Kshatrapa remained vacant till the end of Śaka rule in Western India.[2] There is, however, a coin in the cabinet of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, which indicates the existence of a Kshatrapa during the reign of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III, whose known dates are the years 270-273 and 282-301 (i. e. A. D. 347-348—350-351 and A. D. 359-360—378-379)[3]. The coin in question can be described as follows—

1. E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikūṭaka Dynasty, and the Bodhi Dynasty*, p. 175 f.
2. *Ibid*, p. cxliii.
3. *Ibid*, p. 179 f; *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Supplement*, XLII, p. 90 f. G. V. Acharya read year 312 (i. e. A. D. 389-390) on a coin of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III (*Ibid*). However, since no photograph or cast of this coin in available, it is difficult to check the validity of Acharya's reading.

Accession no. 937; metal silver; size .35; weight 30.3 grains.

Obv. Head of king; behind date 200 (+) 70.

Rev. Three arched *chaitya* in the middle with a wavy line below; crescent above to the left of *chaitya* and a cluster of four dots above to the right of the same; circular legend—...(*svāmi*) *Rudrasanaputrasa rājño Kshatra(pasa)* ... (i.e. *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa svāmi Rudrasenaputrasa rājño Kshatrapasa...*). **(Pl. IV. 3).**

Unfortunately the name of the Kshatrapa in question cannot be definitely read on this coin. But the date furnished by it leaves no room for doubting the existence of a Kshatrapa in the year 270 (i. e. 270 + 77-78 = A. D. 347-348). It is well-known that in the year 270 *svāmi* Rudrasena III ruled as the Mahākshatrapa. Hence our Kshatrapa, who appears to have been a son of *svāmi* Rudrasena III, ruled under him as a Kshatrapa in the year 270.

The Mewasa Stone Inscription of the (so-called Kalachūri) year 103 (i. e. 103 + 248-249 = A. D. 351-352) indicates that Rudrasena III or his father Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman II ousted the family of Jīvadāman II[5], which had previously supplanted the house of Chashṭana. When Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III began to rule in c. A. D. 347-348 he probably appointed his son as a Kshatrapa. His kingdom was large in extent[6], and this might have necessitated the rule of his son as a sub-king in some part of his dominions.

As only one coin of Rudrasena III's son is now known and that too after a long period of discoveries of and search for Kshatrapa specie—, we may perhaps suggest that the ruler in question reigned only for a short time. The following observations may also support this suggestion.

The absence of Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III's coins between 274 and 282 and the fact that several hoards of

4. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1961, p. 106 f.
5. No coin of Rudradāman II is known. But the coins of his son, which ascribe to him the title *Mahākshatrapa*, and a Nagarjunakonda inscription, which probably refers to him, indicate that he actually ruled for some time as a king (*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 1969*. pp. 119-120).
6. The Mewasa Inscription, which should be referred to Rudrasena III's reign has been found in Cutch. Rudrasena III's coins have been found in regions widely separated from one another. This may indicate that his dominion was quite large in extent. See also n. 7.

Kshatrapa coins seem to have been buried during this period[1] indicate that about this time the Kshatrapa dominion faced a crisis. As a result of this catastrophe, probably in the form of one or several invasions of one or more enemies[2], the extent of the Kshatrapa territory diminished considerably.[3] Hence the existence of a Kshatrapa or sub-ruler may have become unnecessary. It is also probable that Rudrasena III's son died about this time, and as the office of the Kshatrapa was no longer required, it was abolished. The validity of this hypothesis becomes all the more probable when it is remembered that Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena III was succeeded in the office of Mahākshatrapa by his sister's son[4], and not by his own son.

B. N. MUKHERJEE

4.

A COIN OF KUMARAPALA

[Pl. VIII]

The coin which is described below is now in the Central Antiquites Section, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi; and was purchased from Śrī Ramchand of Government School, Ludhiana. It is gold. Therefore, broadly it hails from Panjab. Coins of Kumārapāla have been noticed before, but their provenance are not so well established. What is more, this type was continued in Muslim times. But the ascription of these coins is a moot point.

1. The latest issues in the hoards of Kshatrapa coins found at Uparkot and Vasoj in Kathiawad; Sarvania in Southern Rajasthan, Chindwara in Madhya Pradesh and Gandarmau and Sanchi in Malwa are those of Rudrasena III issued in or shortly before the year 273 (see *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, xviii, pp. 220-221).

   It appears that these hoards were buried in or immediately after the year 273. The fact that all these hoards were interred about the same time in regions widely separated from one another indicates the large extent of the Kshatrapa dominions under Rudrasena III at least in c. 273 and also hints at the gravity of the situation which led to their burial. The Guptas may have played some part in causing the crisis in the Kshatrapa domlnions. For, if the Kākas, who are referred to in the Allahabad *Praśasti* as swearing allegiance to Samudragupta, are to be placed in Kākānadabota or Sanchi, then it is probable that either the Guptas or the Kākas or both snatched away some portions of Rudrasena III's dominion. Thus, though Rudrasena III survived that crisis, as is shown by his later issues, his dominion was diminished considerably in extent.
2. See no. 7.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *BMC, AWK*, p. 28-f; see also reference no. 3.

Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham was first to notice this type of coins.[1] It had on obverse nimbate figure of Lakshmi and on reverse legend in three lines. He was followed by V. A. Smith and E. J. Rapson[2]; all of whom took him to be a member of Tomara dynasty. But late M. Roy Chowdhury and R. D. Banerji have questioned this identification. Banerji argued that both Kumārapāla and Mahīpāla cannot be ascribed to Tomara dynasty due to the fact that reliable geneological list of the Tomaras are not available. Secondly, gold coins of Mahīpāla are found all over northern India, even in Saurāshṭra and Malwa. It is true that certain base metal coins of Mahīpāla bear Horse rider: Bull type of the Shāhis of Udabhāṇḍapura. But the palaeography of the legends of the gold coins of Mahīpāla are earlier than those of base mental coins. He concluded that Ajayapāla and Mahīpāla (?) did not belong to the Tomara dynasty but to the Chaulukyas of Gujarat[3] and Pratihāras of Kanauj.

It is true that no inscription mentioning the Tomaras of Delhi has been found since the fragment described by D. R. Sahni is now missing. But two post Muslim inscriptions on stone found at Sarvan and Palam (Baoli) mention that Delhi or Dhillīka was founded by the Tomaras from whom it passed to the Chāhamānas.[4] In respect of palaeography if we are guided by the principle enunciated by late R. D. Banerji that it is not safe to compare between characters of stone inscriptions and copper plate charters since copper being more tractable than stone results in letters which seem more advanced than those on stone, then no comparative tests can follow. At the same time, Banerji failed to note that certain amount of stereotyped nature was inevitable due to assay masters and die cutters. Thus palæography of legends occurring on Ghaznavid and Ghorid coins do not differ a great deal from those of the Tomaras, Gāhaḍvālas and the Chāndellas.[5] Their coin types were again continued by the early muslim rulers. Thus we have one gold coin probably of Tāj-ud-din Yildiz which have this goddess on the reverse legend in Nagari *Śrī Mahammada sāma*. Lane Poole un-necessarily took it to be a Kanauj issue. It might have been issued at Delhi as well after the defeat of the Chāhamāna king Pṛithvīrāja III or when he overthrew the

1. *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 85, No. 3. pl. IX.
2. *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, i, p. 256; *Indian Coins*. p. 31.
3. *Prāchīna Mudrā*, pp. 202-03
4. *Ep. Ind.*, i, pp. 93 ff.; *JASB*, XLiii, Pt. 1 (1874), pp. 104 ff.
5. Compare figure 30, Pl. I of Lane Poole's *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Sultan of Delhi* with Plate VII of *Coins of Mediaeval India*. The inscriptions have been discussed by me in 'Delhi Under Early British Rulers' to be published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society*.

Ghaznavids in the Punjab. His theory that "Similar reasons induced him to preserve, though only for a short time, the piculiar gold issues of Kanauj, with the rude figure of the Goddess Lakshmī, adding his name in Nagari"[1] requires fresh examination. If this pioneer theory is accepted we shall have great difficulty in explaining the Chedi, Chāndella and Tomara (?) coins bearing this type ; who with the exception of the last never held Hariyānā or Kanauj.[2] In Pakistan he continued the cavalier horseman of the Shāhis adopted also by the Tomaras and the Chāhamānas.

The conservatism by continuance of existing coin types even when it went against the tenets of Islam was possibly due to high financial policy and economic reasons. These were to make the money of the conquerors acceptable to millions of *zimmis*, habituated to a traditional type and not to create chaos in international exchange ; due to overland trade. Even two Caliphs of Baghdad issued the horseman type of the Shāhis. If early Muslim coinages teach us anything, it is the indication of gradual policy of advance bearing the barest necessities of existing types.

Let us however decide to whom such coins shuld be ascribed ? Our coin shows :

Obverse : A four armed female divinity seated facing front, with nimbus around her head represented by a curve of solid dots.

Reverse : Legend in three lines : *Śrīma (d) Kumārapāla (d) eva.* **(Pl. VIII. 1)**

Wt. 61.29 grains. Size. 7".

In the first place, let me underline the fact that I have given up describing the Goddess as 'Lakshmī' as Cunningham has done. Because, after examination of plates of Cunningham and Smith, and this coin, I feel that the term Lakshmī is unwarranted in absence of more precise marks of identifictation and *āyudhas*. It is undoubted that it is a survival of the type of Gāṅgeyadeva of Dāhala. But he was not the only monarch of this dynasty who issued this type. They were issued also by Kīrttivarman, Sallakshanvarman and Madanavarman etc.[3] belonging to the Chāndellas of Jejākabhūkti and Govindachandra of the Gāhḍavāla dynasty. If, however, a comparative study is made it appears that die makers

1. Lane Pole, *op. cit*, p. xix.
2. The theory was originally started by E. Thomas.
3. Cunningham, *op.cit*, pl. VIII,

of Gāṅgeyadeva did their job far better than those of Kumārapāla, Mahīpāla, Chāndellas or Gāhaḍavālas. The figures on Chedi coins nostalgically remind us of the 'Ardoksho' type of Vāsudeva and of the brilliant gold issues of the Imperial Guptas. Though the glyptic art had degenerated even in Chedi times, it was not to the extent that we find on the coins of the 11th century of the christian area.

To whom then these coins belong ? To the Tomaras or the Chaulukyas ?

The Tomara king Kumārapāla exists only by ascription of these coins to him by Cunningham. No inscription of his or his mention in any of his adversaries or contamporaries have so far been met with. On the other hand the historical background of Kumārapāla, the Chaulukya is indeed impressive. He succeeded Siddharaja Jayasiṁha. He is considered the greatest member of his dynasty, thanks to the Jainas. His campaigns are well known. (1) Chāhamāna Arṇorāja and Vigraharāja IV ; (2) Paramāras of Ābu ; (3) Chāhamānas of Naddula ; (4) Paramāras of Kirāḍu ; (5) Ballāla ; (6) Mallikārjuna ; (7) Saurāshṭra and (8) Dāhala.[1] The evidence, it must be admitted is neither conclusive nor decisive. Even their best champion A. K. Majudar had to admit that the "limits of Kumārapāla's empire may be said to have been as follows : in the south the Vindhya and at least as far as the river Tapti, for it is not known how much of Koṅkana was retained by Kumārapāla ; to the west Saurashtra and Kachchha, to the north roughly from Chitor and Jaisalmer, including parts of the former native states of Udayapur and Jodhpur and in the east Kumārapāla's empire extended probably upto Bhilsa and probably extended even further east."

In this respect, Jayasiṁha Sūri's account of his (Kumārapāla's) *digvijaya* is the best. In reality, these so called *digvijayas* are merely raids and very conventional in character. Very little permanent results emanated, like that of Yaśovarmman of Kanauj.[2] On this principle we may agree that he might have visited Sapādalaksha, *Kuru-maṇḍala* (Hariyana and E. Punjab), Mālava and Chitrakuṭa (Chitorgarh), Avantī, Valley of the Narmada upto the Ābhira country and being victorious over the lords of Prakāśa, which B. K. Thapar has excavated in Tapi Valley, Lāṭa, Saurāshṭra, Kachchha and lastly *Pañchanada* (Punjab). The main fact that emerges is

1. A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 19.
2. Yaśovarman of Kanauj—*Indian Culture*, XV.

that he visited Kuru Maṇḍala and Punjab. Apart from his victory over the two Chāhamāna kings and occupation of Chitorgarh etc.

What was the Chaulukya coinage ? Our sources are of two kinds-literary and epigraphical. The inscriptions mention *drammas-Bhīma-priya* and *Visālapriya drammas*. Other coins mentioned are *viṁśopaka*, *rūpaka* and *kārshāpaṇas*. A denomination of coins called *dināra* is mentioned, which in my opinion implies gold coins. B. J. Sandesara, Director, Oriental Institute has published extracts of a work called *Gaṇitasāra*, with a commentary in Gujarati.[1] This work mentions several classes of coins.

In Gujarat coins have been in circulation since time immemorial, for the simple reason, that it was a maritime province. This picture has been very well reconstructed by A. K. Majumdar and need not detain us. But he is wrong when he opines that no coins of the Imperial Rāshṭrakuṭa dynasty are known.[2] For this we are indebted to D. B. Diskalkar who noticed some alleged Rāshṭrakuṭa coins.[3] Though I personally feel that they were issues of Hūṇa Kings, who established themselves in Pathar and Upramal areas or old Mewar hill tracts, whose historicity and existence I have convincingly shown elsewhere.[4] Two gold coins of Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja were found in village Pandwah. *tahsil* Garnatha, district Jhansi of U. P. Parenthetically, it might be pointed out that Jhansi, Banda and Lalitpur areas of modern Uttara Pradesh, were originally a part of ancient Mālavadeśa, which went into the possesion of the Peshawas when the Mughal *subāh* of Malwa was transferred to them by Muhammad Shah and was divided amongst several Maratha feofee in the heyday of the Maratha confederecy. The lions share falling into the hands of the Sindhias and Holkars. One of them was the family in which young Lakshmī Bāi of Jhansi was married. Her husband was not only the last feudal lord of Jhansi (*Mere Jhansi nehi diuṅgā*). When after the abhortive revolt of 1857 the East India Company gave place to the British crown, these areas were annexed to the British territories.

This digression has an important bearing. If Siddharāja's coins can be found in a remote area of ancient Mālava, then why not Kumārapāla's coin, and gold too, in Ludhiana or say

1. B. J. Sandesara, *JNSI*, VIII, p. 138 ff.
2. *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 269.
3. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 66 ff.
4. cf. present writer's Hūṇas in Mewar, *Journal of Asiatic Society*, IV. no. 2, pp. 57-62.

Panjab ? *Kurumaṇḍala* referred to by Jayasiṁha Sūri is modern Delhi district, Gurgaon, Panipat, Jind portions of Hissar and Rohtak districts. That is ancient Hariyānā.[1] He could have easily come from Malwa or through present Hanumangarh and Suratgarh districts to Panjab to defeat the Ghaznavid king or a local Indian prince of the area. He could have even proceeded from Hariyānā to Panjab and returned to Gujarat through Bikaner as Nakula had done according to late Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra. Therefore, there is no inherent improbablity in the coin belonging to Chaulukya-Kumārapāla. Secondly, Gujarat marchants resided in Delhi even after muslim occupation. They might have been responsible for their distribution.

ADRIS BANERJI

5

ĀDIVĀRĀHA COINS

[Pl. IV]

In the last summer, nine coins were offered for decipherement to the author of this note, by Sri Nanak Chandra Malhotra, a Sarraf of Farrukhabad, along with some other coins of the Gupta and Mughal rulers. The coins of the Ādivāraha series are not in a good state of preservation. Their metal is silver alloyed with some impurity, probably copper. The shapes are also very irregular and all these nine specimens are about 34 grammes in weight.

On the obverse side of these coins, there is depiction of the Boar-incarnation of Vishṇu, standing facing towards right, and on the reverse legend is in Nāgari script of 10th Century in two or three lines. It can be completed from all these specimens. **(Pl. IV. 4-12).**

From the legend, it seems that these were issued by Vināyaka-pāladeva a Gurjara-pritahāra ruler of Kanauj.

B. M. S. PARMAR

6

DISCOVERY OF A PALLAVA COIN (?) AT NAGAR DISTRICT BHANDARA MAHARASTRA

[Pl. VII]

The study and research work on the rare coins of Ancient India is an important addition to the source for rewriting the chapters on the Ancient Indian History and Archaeology. Though the work has started still no satisfactory progress has

1. Culture Sequence in Hariyana to be published in the *Journal of the Vishesvarananda Vedic Research Institute*, Hoshiarpur.

been done on the rare coins to fill up the gaps in it, and it is left to the task of the present generation to undertake the work on the basis of available evidences in Inscriptions and literature. A careful examination of the symbols, legends and metrology may throw much light on the subject to bristle with the controversial problems arising particularly relating to the origin, identity and extent of any ancient coin.

Without entering into any complicated discussions, a sincere attempt is made here to introduce the discovery of a solitary circular copper mixed with lead or bronze coin ranging about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter, weighing roughly 103.9 grams, bearing the emblem of a maned lion facing right with an undeciphered Nagari (?) legend enclosed by a circle of pellets on obverse, and a vase on stand identified as Śivas phallus flanked by two lamps encircled by strokes at the edges, of the coin on reverse **(Pl. VII. 13)**, was made by me on the surface of a low mound at the village of Nagra in the Gondia tahsil of Bhandara District, Maharasta.[1]

The present Pallava coin dealt in this article closely resembles the coins of the Pallava chiefs described and published earlier by V. A. Smith,[2] Elliot[3] and C. J. Brown.[4]

Although Smith ascribes the coin bearing the emblem of maned lion with an undeciphered legend in Nagari (?) enclosed by a circle of pellets on obverse and a phallus on an *arghapaṭṭa* and flanked by two lamps encircled by n line of strokes at the edges of the coin on reverse, to one of the Pallava chiefs, placed between 13th to 17th century. A. D., but C. J. Brown feels doubtful to ascribe this type either to Pallavas or Chalukyas of south India.

Prior to this discovery hardly a few coins of this type or similar to this with slight variations in the arrangement of the details either on obverse or on reverse have been reported from south India, but no where in north or in central India, such coins having all the details of emblems as seen in this type described above are reported so far.

If we look into the earlier references we find either on obverse or on reverse side of the coins of Kushana, Gauḍa, Chalukyas, Kadambas, Rajput and Naga only partial details of emblems[5] unlike the present coin.

1. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1960-1961, p. 56
2. *The Early History of India*, (IVth edition), Pl. I, No. 16.
3. *Coins of South India*, Pl. III.
4. *The Coins of India*, Pl. VII, No. 8, pp. 61, 62.
5. *Lectures on Numismatics* by R. Bhandarkar.

Although some of these coins bear either on the obverse or reverse the emblems of Śiva *lingam*, Nagari legend, lamps, maned lion in single, still the arrangement of both the legend and maned lion on obverse and Śiva *lingam* with lamps on reverse is not seen in many cases. But they have the symbols in addition or replaced by the emblems of animals like bull, horse and Varāha.

Some of the coins minted at Banaras bear Śiva *lingam* with Nandi between two trees. The brass coins of Pulakeśin bear Varāha with an incription in Kanarese on obverse and only lamps and not the phallus on the reverse.[1]

In the Yelleshwaram excavations in Andhra about 42 coins of a similar type have been found. They bear either lion, or bull on reverse and a Śiva *lingam* on the reverse. None of them are ascribed to Pallavas but are identified as coins of the Vishṇu Kuṇdins.[2]

Difference of views held by scholars need a correct justification on either side. The theory held by V. A. Smith might be possible on the basis of the motifs depicted in the coins ascribed to a Pallava chief. Both the maned lion, and Śiva-phallus are the Śaivite emblems. Similar type of lion emblems are also reported to be depicted on the rock cut temples of south India. In pallava history most of the names of the kings like Simha Vishṇu, Simha Varma and Narasimha Varma represent their dynastic feature. In the coins of the later Pallavas the symbol of Varāha, is also found rarely in place of lion, but the lamps on reverse continue.

In the light of the above facts the present coin can also be identified and ascribed to late Pallava period. On similar grounds V. A. Smith identified the earlier coin types as Pallava.

Regarding the identity of the Pallavas we are not yet definite as to who are they, and where did they come from and how did they attain the chief place among the powers of south. To these questions no complete answer can be given at present although considerable research has been made in solving the problem.[3]

A few coins of Vibhu Naga of Padmavati bearing the emblem of Śiva *linga* on an *arghapaṭṭa* and maned lion are also reported but they are in different order and type.[4]

1. *Ibid.*
2. Excavation Report of Yelleshwaram.
3. *The Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, (VI, Edition), p. 491.
4. *The Catalogue of the Naga Coins of Padmavati*, by Dr. H.V. Trivedi.

Although there was no Pallava country as such with traditional limits still the Pallava domination extended in degrees varying from time to time over all the three ancient kingdoms.[1] The extension of the Pallavas was from Narmada to Tinnevalley north to south and from Orissa to Berar east to west[2] as accepted by many Historians.

The discovery of the present Pallava coin from the Gondia tahsil of Bhandara District falls within the area covering as above is quite convincing and reasonable. More over, this is from that area through which some Śaivas from north were imported to the south after the political conquest in the Kosala area during the late Pallava period.[3] This point is to be noted in the present context as to how such Pallava coins can come from this area. All this will throw light on the extent of Pallava domain or domination at the site of the present find.

Although Pallava kings did not exist for a long time still the Pallava chiefs continued to exist as local rulers till 17th century and after that time all trace of the Pallavas as a race or clan disappears.[4]

The present coin bearing the emblem of maned lion with legend on obverse and Śiva *lingam* with lamps on reverse might belong to the later Pallavas as the earlier Pallavas were probably followers of Buddhism, Vaishnavism and Jainism and most of the later Pallavas were apparently worshippers of Śiva through the influence of the famous Saint Appar and they might have copied Śaivite emblems on their coins. The emblem of vase on stand might be the symbol of phallus of Śiva followed by the later Pallavas who may be dated to that period—13th to 17th century A. D.[5]

The coin described above has been chemically treated and the report from the Archæological Chemist in India is still awaited. The coin is at present in the possession of the Archæological Survey of India Central Circle, Bhopal.

If the decipherment of the Nagari (?) legend on the coin is made, it may add more knowledge to the study of history in general and numismatics in particular.

C. KRISHNA

1. Smith, *Ibid.*, p. 207-208.
2. *Oxford History of India*, by Smith, 1920, pp. 207-208.
3. *History of India*, by N. K. Sinha & A. C. BanerJee, p. 195.
4. *The Early History of India*, by V.A. Smith, p. 491.
5. *Ibid.*

7

THE ELECTRUM COINS OF VIKRAMADITYA-I: THE CHALUKYAN EMPEROR OF BADAMI.

[PL. V]

I have three such coins in my cabinet. As stated earlier, these three coins along with the gold coin described in Section I[1] were procured as one lot in Hyderabad in 1959. Two of these coins are in quite a good condition with all the symbols and inscriptions very legible. The third is slightly worn out. All the coins are of the same pattern and I am describing them.

The shape is round and the size is .76 inches. The weight is 9.800 grammes or 153 grains. On a fairly thick disc with a broad rim, the coins have been die-struck. The obverse and reverse contain a number of emblems and inscriptions big and small. There are small inscriptions in portions of the rim also.

The colour of the coin is yellowish-white. On a first and preliminary test the metal appears to be a mixture of gold and silver ; an electrum. The gold content can be estimated to be about 30% and this is a good first approximate estimate. I shall have them tested later more accurately and find out whether there is any copper content also.

Taking the obverse emblems first, in the middle of the coin from left to right and facing right there is a big boar with two thick legs, snout and a heavy tail. In front of the boar there appears to be a lamp (at III) a little faint in one coin but better in the other one. Above the big boar (at I) a crescent like object probably representing the moon can be seen. To its left there are some lines which may indicate the sun. Four symbols can therefore be recognised on the obverse **(Pl V. 9)**.

There are two big inscriptions on this side. Just over the beginning of the tail of the big boar a big '*Sri*' starts from bottom up and ends at the edge of the coin. To its left there is a '*vi*' then a '*kra*' and then a '*ma*' (at IX) all from the inside of the coin going towards the edge. The first inscription reads '*Sri Vikrama*'. It is somewhat floral in design remniscent of the earlier Kadamba types. Then the second inscription starts (at IX) with a small '*Sri*', somewhat faint, then a big '*vi*' to the right, then a '*kra*' at the edge of the coin (at VI) from left to right and then a '*ra*' in the interspace between '*vi*' and

1. To be printed in *JNSI*, xxvii, Pt. I, as a separate paper—*Editor*.

'jha' rather feeble, and then a big *'jha'* (at V). The *'ma'* can probably be seen below the tip of the boar's tail. The second inscription reads *'Sri Vikrama Raja'*. Above the back of the boar a few small letters are visible but they are difficult to read.

Taking the reverse symbols there is the big standing figure from top to bottom with no pretence of a head; to hands stretched over the head; a big torso and two legs. It looks rather crude. To the right of the figure near the edge of the coin there is a thin line with something like a peacock feather, the *'Mayur Pincha'* at the top. It also looks like a spear, *'Kunta'*. Between the spear and the torso of the standing figure a serpent with its spread hood and a short winding body can be seen. There are, therefore, three symbols on this side.

As regards inscriptions a gocd *'Vi'* from bottom to top can be seen right of the hand of the standing figure (from II to I); then comes a big *'kra'* to its left reading from left to right at the edge of the figure; and then a small *'ma'* can be read. The *'Sri'* is difficult to trace unless we see it between the hood of the snake and torso. This inscription therefore reads *'Vikrama'*. The second inscription starts left of the middle of the torso of the standing figure (at IX) with a big *'ma'* its arms stretched towards the torso. Then there is a big *'ha'*. Below *'ma'* a *'ra'* (the *'ra'* in one coin is better) can be read. The *jha'* is seen rather faintly below the left leg of the standing figure. A *'Maharaja'* is also clear. On the flat rim of the disc below the legs some letters are there, probably reading as *'sri'*, *'vi'* and *'kra'*. Similarly on the top portion of the figure two letters can be traced and look like *'sri'* and *'vi'*. These are the inscriptions on the reverse.

These coins in most respects resemble the gold coin. Since I have discussed at length all the data in the prvious section[1], comments can be brief here. The weight of 153 grains indicates that the northern models were copied here also. The later Guptas appear to have resorted to this weight to keep up to the Suvarṇa standard of 80 Rattis of Manu. While the northern origin is clear this weight soon disappears and the south reverts to the 50/60 grains. Why the electrum compound has been preferred is difficult to understand. The gold with a 20% copper is all right. Silver, good or base with a lot of copper as in contemporary eastern Chalukya coins of Vishama-Siddhi and the earlier Vishṇu-Kuṇdins could also be understood. Why does the King prefer here gold and silver and a fairly good proportion of gold at that? Apparently to show his

1. *Ibid.*

conquests and display his wealth, the Emperor liked a silver coinage with some gold. To indicate his northern tradition he wanted the 150 grain weight.

As regards the author there seems to be little doubt that it was Vikramaditya-I who issued the coins. The boar points to the Badami line. The standing figure with the peacock feather or spear and the serpent could indicate only God Kārtikeya. the bold incriptions reading *Sri Vikrama Maharaja* point to Vikramaditya-I of Badami. The palaeography exactly corresponds to Vikramaditya-I's plates mentioned in the previous section.[1] To my mind there is not the least doubt that these coins could only be attributed to Vikramaditya-I of Badami.

It is obvious that these coins are an unique and remarkable find.

S. RAMAYYA

8.

A UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF AKBAR

[Pl. V]

Recently a gold coin was shown to me by a private collecter. It bears the following details :—

Shape Square. Date 987 H. Mint Pātan.

Obv. In a dotted border, the Kalima.

Date ۹۸۷ in the left lower corner.

Rev. In a dotted border.

بادشاہ غازی
جلال الدین محمد اکبر

below پتن

(Pl. V. 6).

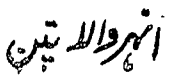
This mint is identified with Kaḍi Pātan, a very important place in the Baroda State. The *A'in-i-Akbarī* (Thomas, *Chronicles*, P. 428) mentions پتن (*Pātan*) as one of Akbar's mints

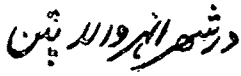
1. *Ibid.*

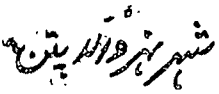
for copper. The coins issued from this mint are exceedingly rare. Following specimens with different prefixes are known :—

1. Silver. Date 984 Mint Nahrwāla Pattan. *NS*, XI, p. 322. The date on these rupees is inscribed over جلال on the reverse in vertical fashion.

2-3. Silver. No. 319 & 320 of *Lucknow Museum Catalogue*. One of them is dated 984 H. The mint is read as



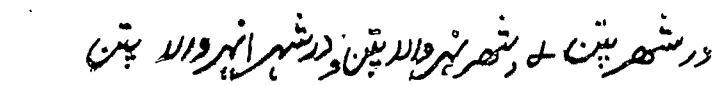
4. Silver. Date 984 Mint,  *NS*, XXVI, p. 493.

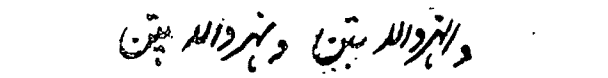
5. Copper. Date 984 & 985, Mint  *NS*, XXIV, p. 479.

6. Gold. Date 984. *BMC*, No. 61, Mint درشهرپتن

7. Our specimen which closely resembles with the above *muhar* of the British Museum is dated 987 H. and the mint name is read as پتن (*Pātan*) without any epithets prefixed to this mint.

It will be seen that on the above coins the same mint has been read differently by different persons. Such as





Ours is a beautiful specimen and it bears only پتن without any prefixes whatsoever. Such a *Muhar* was not published before. It seems, after Akbar, no coins were issued by any other emperor from this mint. The date 987 on this *Muhar* is also new; all other coins bearing 984 or 985 H.

C. R. SINGHAL

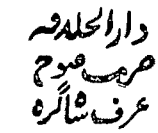
9

AKBAR'S MINT CHITOR

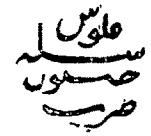
While writing on the 'Coins of Mewar' in this *Journal* Roshan Lal Samar has referred to the copper coins of Akbar that were issued between the years 999 and 1008 A. H. and are attributed to mint Chitor in various Museum *Catalogues*. He maintains that the reading of the mint name on these coins is not clear; some scholars read the mint name as *Chitor* while others took it to be *Jaipur* or *Qanauj*.[1] Thus he refers to the views of Rodgers[2], Oliver[3] and Temple.[4]

It may be pointed out here that Jaipur was founded by Sawai Jai Singh, an eminent scion of the house of Amar, in the later Mughal period some time after the death of Shah Alam Bahadur in the eighteenth century A. D. So the mint-name Jaipur on Akbar's coins would be historically wrong. This has been admitted by Rodgers and Temple; we need not pay any attention to this reading.

The reading *Qanauj* on these coins is equally untenable. We have a large number of coins issued from Qanauj mint, which bear the legend:



They cannot be confused with the coins under discussion. These coins bear a quite distinct legend written as:



Even if we ignore the coins which bear the clear legend *Qanauj*, and try to read *Qanauj* on these coins, we cannot do so. The initial letter of the mint-name on the coins clearly appears a ـقـ; but it may sometimes be confused for the initial ـنـ without dots. But the last letter ـج is so clear that it cannot be confused with ـچ in any circumstances.

1. *JNSI*, XXV, p. 73.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, 1890, p. 222.
3. *JASB*, 1886, Pl. II, 23.
4. *Indian Antiquary*, 1890, p. 222. Editorial foot note.

With the initial چ and ending ر, the mint-name cannot be read otherwise but *Chitor*. The only defect that may be pointed is the absence of the *nuqtās*. But the absence of *nuqtas* is in no way surprising. The ommission of the *nuqtas* is not an error on the part of the die-cutter; but it was rather customary to omit the dots in the realm of Persian and Arabic calligraphy. The ommission of the *nuqtas* may be noticed even in the manuscripts of the period.

The attribution of these coins to Chitor should not be doubted on the mere ground that the name of Chitor does not find place in the inventory of mints given by Abul Fazl. The existence of several mints like Banaras, Jullundhar, Hardwar, Nagor, Sialkot, Sarangpur, Mandu and Ranthambhor mentioned in the inventory is yet to be corroborated by their coins. On the other hand there are many mints that are known from their coins but are conspicous by their absence in the said list.

In absence of the dots on these coins, we are unable to know the correct form of writing the name Chitor. Rodgers and Temple have expressed different views on the spelling of Chitor. The former favours *Chītor* (چیتور) and the latter takes it to be *Chitor* (چتور).

I have examined several manuscripts and printed versions of *Akbarnāmā*, *Ain-i-Akbarī*, *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* and Farishta and noticed that the place-name in them is spelt as چیتور and چتور both. Since the manuscripts and printed versions consulted by me belong to the ninteenth ceutury, no reliance can be made on them for the correct form of the word. The calligraphists, scribes, and copyists were not always learned persons. They could conviniently introduce their own spellings and replace the original ones.

But fortunately enough, I could trace out an important evidence on the point in the *Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh*. Abdur Qadir Badaoni, while describing graphically the seige, the fierce fighting and the ultimate fall of Chitor, quotes an interesting *abjad*[1] composed on the eve of the fall of Chitor,

1. *Abjad* is a system in the Persian and Arabic poetry where the alphabets are given the numarical value and the words, phrases or lines composed with those letters, denote a desired value in number when the letters are counted together. The values of the letters in this system are as follows:

ا=1 ب=2 ج=3 د=4
ه=5 و=6 ز=7
ح=8 ط=9 ی=10
ک=20 ل=30 م=40 ن=50

to commemorate the event. This *abjad* is meant to give the value 975, the Hijra year of the fall of Chitor, and includes the word *Chitor*. The *abjad* gives the correct value of 975 only when the word is spelt as چیتّور (*Chītor*) and its value is reduced to 965 when it is spelt as چتّور (*Chitor*) without the letter ی (*ye*) This shows that the correct Persian spelling was چتّور (*Chitor*).

U. S. RAO

10

KĀLINJAR—A NEW MINT OF AKBAR

[Pl. V]

The *Memoir (no. 4) of the Numismatic Society of India* issued in 1953, contains an exhaustive and comprehensive list of the mint-towns of the Mughal Emperors of India. But new facts come to light in the wake of fresh discoveries from time to time.

Recently I acquired some Akbari fulus or Dāms for the Rao Harnarain Singh Dhansingh Collection of Antiquities and amongst these is a fulus which forms the subject of this article. The fulus under reference was issued from the mint of Kālinjar in 987 A. H.

According to the *'Ain-i-Akbari'* Kālinjar was the head-quarters of a Sarkar in the Subāh of Allahabad, Kālinjar is a historic place of great antiquity. Here in 952 A. H. Sher Shah had died in an arduous attempt to conquer the famous and strategic hilly fort. There and then, his son, Islām Shah, succeeded his father as Sultān of Hindustan. The *Imperial Gajetteer of India*, Series (1908) gives an elaborate and informative account of the antiquity and sanctity of Kālinjar.

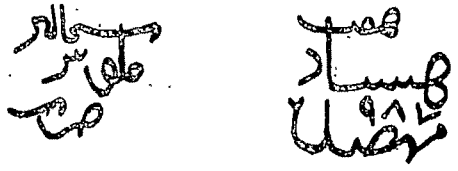
س=60، ع=70، ف=80، ص=90
ق=100، ر=200، ش=300، ت=400
ث=500، خ=600، ذ=700
ض=800، ظ=900، غ=1000

دل گفت که " بکشاد بزدے چیتّور "

ب=2، ک=20، ش=300، ا=1، د=4	=	327
ب=2، ز=7، و=6، د=4، ی=10	=	29
چ=3، ی=10، ت=400، ر=6، ر=200	=	619
		975

The weight of the fulus under study is 20.795 grammes or 321 grains ; while its size is 8". The legends on the obverse and reverse are as follows :—

Obv. **Rev.**



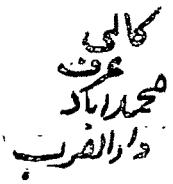
Pl. V. 7

The upper portion of the legend on obverse of the coin could not be made out. Probably this constitutes the epithets of the mint. An enlarged photograph of the coin was, therefore, got prepared in the hope of getting a vivid picture of details and to facilitate further concentration on the point. A copy of the same is appended herewith **(Pl. V. 7)**.

May I add that I was also inclined to read the mint as *Kālpi*; but I was deterred from doing so in the light of the existing copper coins of Akbar struck at Kālpi from time to time that are now in various public and private collections. The Suri Sultans also struck silver and copper coins at Kālpi. The minting of Akbari *fulus* started at Kālpi in 963 A. H.,

and the mint had the epithet of محمدآباد in 963 and

964 A. H. viz.,



In the later part of the year 964 A. H. "عرف محمدآباد"

was dropped and was replaced by "*Khitta*", viz.



Again though the epithet remained the same, the die was changed thus in 965 and 966 A. H. and the legend runs as follows :—



H. N. Wright in his mint notes in the *Catalogue of Mughal Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta,* observed that the mint at Kālpi seems to have been closed after 968 A. H.

It may be noted that no epithet is given on silver coins of Akbar struck at Kālpi.

A copper coin of Akbar struck at Kālpi now preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhawan, Varanasi, was described by C. R. Singhal in a lengthy article in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* XXIII p. 392 at No. 20. On it Kālpi is accompanied with the epithet *Baldāh.* The legends on obverse and reverse as described by the learned numismatist run as follows :—

Obv. **Rev.**



May I point that either the reading of the legends on this coin is dubious or the coin is a freak, in so far as it is both a fulus as well as a half-tankah at the same time, which on the face of it is inadmissible. Supposing it to be a half-tankah it must have been struck at Kālpi in or after the forty-second regnal Ilāhi year. The coin bears no date. The Kālpi mint was thus in existence after 968 A.H., as evidenced by this half-tankah and not extinct as H. N. Winght had observed

previously. It may also be pointed out that on tankah issues and its all smaller denominations as well as on all fulus coins bearing the Ilāhi dates epithets of all those mints which bore them under Hijra dates were dropped. This coin of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan bearing an epithet '*Baldat* on a Kālpi issue is, thus, an exception and an enigma. In case of its being a fulus it must have been struck before the introduction of Ilahi Era, i.e. 992 A.H.

my reading of the mint as Kālinjar is tentative. If it is Kālinjar it is an addition to the mints of Akbar ; and if it is Kālpi, it is qualified by new epithets and the way of engraving the word Kālpi on the coins is a new one. In both cases the coin under reference is a rare one and interesting to boot.

UTTAM SINGH RAO

11

IDENTITY OF MUHAMMAD SHAH OF SULTANPUR COPPER COIN

The following coin was published and attributed to Muhammad Tughlaq, the son and successor of Ghayas-ud-din Tughlaq by Hurmuz Kaus in a note in this *Journal.*[1]

Obverse	**Reverse**
عدل	بحضرة
محمد شاه	سلطانپور

In a note appended to the summary of the above article in the *Bibliography of Indian Coins,*[2] C.R. Singhal has expressed his disagreement with this attribution. In his opinion the coin belonged to Alauddin Muhammad Shah Khilji.

He argues that (i) the coins of Muhammad Tughlaq invariably bear the name *Muhammad bin Tughlaq* or *Muhammad Tughlaq* and never *Muhammad Shah* ; (ii) The legends on the coins of Muhammad Tughlaq never begin with the word *Adl* ; (iii) the calligraphy of Kaus' coin resembles closely with the coins of Khilji dynasty and not with the coins of the Tughlaqs ; and (iv) Muhammad Khilji had issued a similar coin from Delhi mint.[3]

1. *JNSI*, VII, p. 64.
2. *Biblio. Ind. Coins*, II, A34, p. 12
3. *DMC*, Coin No. 364.

A careful study of the facts would show that none of these arguments have any force. It seems that he is not aware of the fact that the name *Muhammad Shah* is found on those coins of Muhammad Tughlaq, which Whittel has named '*Azan* type'.[1] These coins are known in gold, dated 725, 726 and 727, and in silver, dated 726, 728 and 729. The legends on them are :

Obverse	Reverse
اشهد ان لا اله الا الله واشهد ان محمد عبدهٗ ورسولهٗ	الواثق بتائید الرحمن محمد شاه السلطان

He is also not aware of the fact that Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq, the father of Muhammad Tughlaq had issued coins from this very mint Sultanpur, which bear the word *Adl.*[2] It is not surprising if Muhammad Tughlaq used the word *Adl* on his coins.

The similiarity of the calligraphy of the coin with that of the Khilji dynasty has hardly any meaning. The intervening period between the termination of the Khilji dynasty and the begining of the Tughlaq dynasty is so short that hardly any calligraphic development could be expected, particularly when the tradition and set-up of the administration were least disturbed by the change of dynasty and the king.

Apart from these general facts, there are some other facts that make the attribution of the coin to Muhammad Tughlaq certain.

(i) The title of *Hazrat* was exclusive to Delhi till the time of Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq. Not a single coin of Muhammad Khilji is known where this title is used for any other mint than Delhi. Not only that, even Ghiyasud-din Tughlaq, the father of Muhammad Tughlaq did not use the title of *Hazrat* for any mint other than Delhi, though he issued coins from a number of mints of the types, which were issued from Delhi with the title *Hazrat*. Among such coins are the coins of Sultanpur also ; but on them it is never called *Hazrat*. It was an innovation of Muhammad Tughlaq to use the honorific with the mint names.

1. *NS*, XXXV, Coins 32, 33, 34, 38A and 39.
2. *Ante*.

(ii) A coin of this very type was acquired by me at Hyderabad. Dinkar Rao has picked up a similar coin from the same place. The collection of Hurmuz Kaus is built up exclusively from the coins collected from Hyderabad and its vicinity. Thus the find-spots of the coins are confined to Deccan. As such, Sultanpur can only be identified with Warangal, the name which was given to it by Muhammad Tughlaq during the reign of his father.

A. H. SIDDIQUI

12

TITLE OF FATH KHAN SON OF FIRUZ TUGHLAQ— ON HIS GOLD COINS

In a note on the gold coin of Fath Khan, the son of Firuz Tughlaq, described by Nelson Wright in his *Catalogue* as coin 745B and illustrated on plate XXI of the same work, C. R. Singhal has pointed out the different readings of the title of Fath Khan in the second line on the reverse of the coin given by Nelson Wright, Nevil, Rodgers and Gibbs. Nelson Wright has doubtfully read it as خبير; Nevil and Rodgers read it as حبيب; and Gibbs' reading was امير; Singhal has favoured the reading حبيب.

After a careful examination of the illustration of the coin, I feel that none of these readings are correct. The word is really ملک (*malik*). In reading it خبير, حبيب, and امير, scholars have wrongly taken notice of the *nuqtas* given below the word. The *nuqtas* are not related to the word under discussion but to the word فتح (*Fath*) in the next line. The single *nuqtā* relates to *fe* and the double *nuqtas* to *te*. On the other hand they have missed to notice the vertical stroke of ک (*kaf*), which is quite conspicous. The first letter which has been taken as ح is out of flan. But what remains there suggests that it could be م (*mim*).

The word *malik* is associated with the word *al-sharq* in the top line and the full title of Fath Khan is *Malik-ul-sharq* (the king of the east). I hardly need say that this title has often been used by the chroniclers for the Sultans of Bengal and Jaunpur.

I am not aware if this title was used for Fath Khan in any of the chronicles of the time. But Farishta, in his history of India, writes on the authority of *Futuhal-i-Firuz Shahi* that Firuz Shah Tughlaq marched at the head of an army to Bengal in 760 A. H. and invested his promising son, prince

Fath Khan with sovereign powers of kingship. He was conferred with all the parapharnalia and accompaniments of a Muslim ruler. Khutbā was read and coins were struck in his name. Fath Khan held his seperate court and had the administration of his own. He was bestowed with the red carpet, elephants and royal umbrella etc.[1]

This leaves no doubt that Fath Khan was really a *Malik-ul-sharq* (king of the east).

U. S. RAO

13

A COPPER COIN OF JAHANDAR SHAH OF SHOLAPUR MINT

[PL. V]

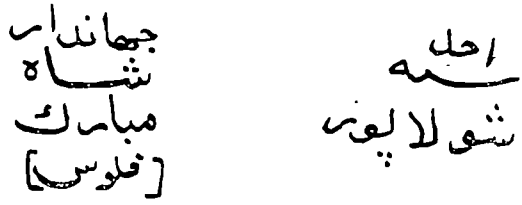
The extant copper coins of Jahandar Shah are of few mints and they are all of southern India, except the mint of Kabul.[2] In my collection. there are two copper coins of this Mughal Emperor, which bear the mint-name Sholapur. Following are the particulars of these coins :

Weight : 101 to 106 grains (6.5700 to 6 8622 grams).

Size : 0.65" (1.5 mm.) dia.

Shape : cilcular.

Obverse. **Reverse.**



Pl. V. 8

1. *Tawarikh-i-Farista* I (Persian Text), p. 146-47.

" در سنه ستین و سبعمائة بادشاه عزیمت لکهنوتی کرده روانه شد- و چون بظفرابا
رسید بر شگال شروع شد- همانجا مقام کرد- بعد از بوسات بلکهنوتی شتافت و د ران آوان
شهزاده فتح خان را سرآپرده سرخ و فیلان نامی داده خطبة بنام او خواند و سکه بنام او زد و
داگاه او را علحده ساخته فراشلخانه و چترلعل و سائرا ثاثه سلطنت داده امرا منصبداران
بسیر تابع او گردانید....."

2. *Mint-towns of the Mughal Emperors of India*, C. R. Singhal, P. 39

The legend of the reverse shows that these coins are of San Ahad i. e. A.H. 1124 (A.D. 1712).

Sholapur had been an important place during the regime of the Deccan Sultanate and subsequently in the Mughal Empire. It's historical importance can be traced to an earlier period. Raghvanka, in his work, *Siddharama Purana*, while giving the biography of Siddharama, mentions him to be an inhabitant of Sunnalpur, which is believed to be the same place as our present Sholapur. The specimens of Hindu architecture of thirteenth and fourteenth century A. D. are discernable in the fort, which indicates that it was a place of some religious importance. In the fourteenth century, it was raised to the status of a fort-town in the Bahmani kingdom. After the disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom, Sholapur was bone of contention between the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur and changed hands from one ruler to the other. When the Sultans of Deccan were united against the Vijayanagar king, then in order to put an end of this strife between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur kings, Hussain Nizam Shah I gave Sholapur as dowry to his daughter Chand Bibi, who was married to Ali Adil Shah I. In the year A. H. 1032 (A. D. 1623), Malik Amber annexed this fort to Ahmadnagar kingdom. In the year A. H. 1044 (A. D. 1635), Shaista Khan handed over the forts of Sholapur and Parenda to the Adil Shahi king, Muhammad Adil Shah, on condition that he should not render help to the Nizam Shahi king. Aurangzeb sent Raja Jai Singh in the year A. H. 1075 (A. D. 1665) to capture this fort and subsequently this fort became the base of operation for the final complete extinction of Bijapur kingdom. Sholapur remained a part of the Mughal Empire, during the reigns of the subsequent Emperors, until it became part of the realm of Asif Jahi dynasty. From the Asif Jahi rulers, it passed to the Marathas and finally to the British.

Firishta states that the old name of this town was Sadlapur. *Burhan-i-Maather* refers to this place by the name of Sundalapur and at another place in the same book Sholapur is referred as Salapur. Three Persian inscriptions and one Marathī inscription, on the bastion of the fort of this town, mention it by the name of Sundalapur, whereas other three Persian inscriptions in the same fort speak of this town as Sholapur.[1]

The coins of Aurangzeb of this mint are known in all the three metals. The silver and copper coins of Shah Alam I are also reported. But no coin of Jahandar Shah of this mint is

1. *Proc. of the Deccan History Conference* for 1945, p. 230; cf. *Some unpublished Muslim Inscriptions from Sholapur*, by Abdullah Chughtai.

known. In the reigns of subsequent Mughal Emperors, the copper coins of Farrukh-Siyar and the silver coins of Muhammad Shah are also extant. After that activity, this mint subsided.

A. H. SIDDIQUI

14

A NEW-TYPE COPPER COIN OF MUHAMMAD QULI QUTUB SHAH

[Pl. VII]

Hurmuz Kaus, in his series of articles 'The coins of the Qutub Shahi dynasty of Golcunda', mentions the copper coins of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah (A.H. 988/A.D. 1580-A.H. 1020/A.D. 1612), the fifth ruler of the dynasty, of three mints, Golcunda, Hydarabad[1] and Muhammadnagar[2].

The coins of Golcunda mint bear the name of the king, Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah, along with the mint-name Golcunda, the capital and the date A.H. 991/A.D. 1583, on the obverse and the couplet in persian on the reverse of the coin.[3] The details of these coins are as under :

Obv.

عدل محمد
قلی قطبشاہ ضرب
دار السلطنة کو
لکندہ ۹۹۱ھ

Rev.

بشاہی
قصیدہ فلوس
پیوستہ
بلعنت الہی

The couplet in Persian means 'He, who dishonours the Royal coin, shall get himself entangled in the curse of God'.

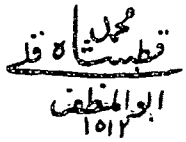
In my collection, there is a coin of this type which clearly bears the date—A. H. 992 (A. D. 1584).

The coins of Hyderabad mint of this king are of two types.

1. *Num. Circ.*, LXIII, No. 5, May 1955.
2. *Num. Circ.*, LXVIII, No. 4 & 5, April & May 1960.
3. *Ibid*, LXIII, No. 5, figures 2 and 7.

Obv. **Rev.**

Ist. type



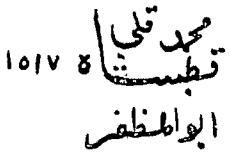


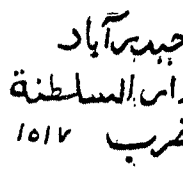
In this type, the couplet in Persian is absent on the reverse of the coin and in its place the mint-name (Hyderabad) is shifted from the obverse to the reverse of the coin. This type bears the date of A.H. 1012 (A. D. 1603) inscribed at the lower part on both the sides of the coin. It also bears the name of the king along with the *Kunyat Abul Muzzafar* meaning 'The father of victories.

2nd. type

This type was brought to light by Abdul Wali Khan in the recently published *Catalogue of Qutub Shahi coins of Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*'. It bears the date of A.H. 1017 (A. D. 1608) and the following inscription on it :[1]

Obv. **Rev.**





The coins of this type differ slightly from the coins of first type in the calligraphical arrangement of the legend of the obverse. In this type, the name of the king, *Muhammad Quli*, occurs above the word *Qutub Shah* and the word *Quli* is written as قلی with *Ya-e-Maroof*.

Hurmuz Kaus describes the coin of Muhammadnagar with the following legend[2] and surprisingly coins of such type are missing in the *Catalogue of Qutub Shahi coins in the Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum.*

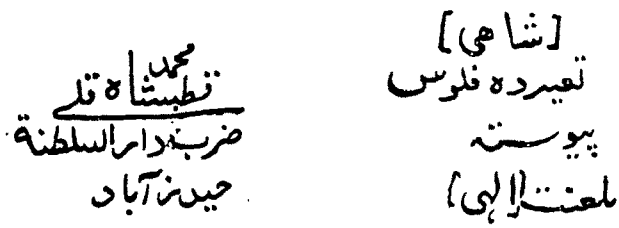
1. *Qutub shahi Coins in Andhra Pradesh Govt. Museum*, p. 21, Coin No. 207.
2. *Num. Circ*, LXVIII, No. 4, April 1960, Coin No. 3.

Obverse	Reverse
Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah	*Fuloos...Muhammadnagar Sana*

I possess more than a dozen coins of this type and by study of these coins, I find that the legend described by Kaus is not correct. It is a new type coin of Hyderabad mint and can be taken as a third type of this mint. The details of these coins are as under :

Metal : Copper
Weight : Varying from 197 to 208 grains.
Size : 0.7″
Shape : Circular

Obverse **Reverse**



Pl. VII. 10-11 **Pl. VII. 13**

The legend of these coins finds similiarity with the coins of Golcunda mint and also with the first type coins of Hyderabad mint. It is inscribed in Naskh style of writing, like the other two types. The similiarity of these coins with the coins of Golcunda mint lies in respect of the couplet in Persian of the reverse of the coin. But the obverse of these coins bears the mint-name as *Hyderabad* along with the name of the king. Further, the word عدل (*Adal*) is not found at the beginning of the legend of the obverse as it is found on the coins of Golcunda mint. The mention of the name of the king along with the word Adal (meaning 'The Legal coin') is a style adopted by various kings of Central Asia and Iran[1] and which had been followed on the coins of Golcunda mint due to the Persian origin of this dynasty. But absence of the word *Adal* in the legend of these coins marks the development of an independent style of the formulation of the inscription.

The similiarity of these coins with the coins of first type of Hyderabad mint lies in respect of the calligraphical arrangement

1. *Mannual of Muslim Numismatics*, Codrington, p. 53-54.

of the name of the king on the obverse. Like the coins of first type of Hyderabad mint, the word *Muhammad* occurs at the top of the coin. the word *Qutub Shah* in the second line surrounding the word *Muhammad* and the word *Quli* lies in the third line. The letters ق and ل of the word *Quli* are placed at the left-hand side of the word *Qutub Shah*, but the letter ے (*Ya-e-Majhool*) is extended horizontally.

The couplet in Persian refers to the nefarious practices of the sarafs of melting away the coins so as to bring into circulation the currency of Vijayanagar kings. During the reign of Muhammad Shah I Bahmani, the entire lot of sarafs was massacred to put an end of this practice so that in the reigns of subsequent Bahmani kings there was no recurrence of it. But with the decline of the Bahmani kingdom, it was renewed. The legend of the couplet reveals that this nefarious practice of melting away the coins had reached to such an extremity during the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah that he had to impeach the offender with the curse of God by incorporating this couplet on the coin.

As the legend on the reverse of these coins is similiar to that of the coins of Golcunda mint, it shows that these coins with the couplet and the mint-name *Hyderabad* must be an earlier issue of Hyderabad mint than the other two known types, because coins of the other two types bear no similiarity with the coins of Golcunda mint in their inscriptions. It may also, perhaps, signify the earliest copper coinage of this king when Hyderabad was made the capital instead of Golcunda. The lower portion of the die is cut and the date is missing on the obverse of the coin.

Firishta, in his history, gives a legend that Muhammad Quli-Qutub Shah had named this city as Bhagnagar[1] after his favourite Bhagmati. But this story is not mentioned by any other contemporary historian, except the Mughal historians who, in order to depict the immorality of the Qutub Shahi kings swayed this story[2]. *Tarikh-e-Farkhunda* mentions that Hyderabad was founded in the year A.H. 998[3] (A.D. 1590) and refers to Firishta by saying that initially Muhammad Quli Qutub Shah named it as Bhagnagar, after the name of his minion, but after seventeen years, being ashamed of that name, changed it to Hyderabad in the name of Ali, the fourth Calif, who was surnamed as Hyder. This view is more probable because the Qutub Shahi kings professed the Shiā creed of Muslim faith

1. Firishta, III, p. 173.
2. *Muntaqab-ul-Lubab*, III, p. 384
3. *Tarikh-e-Farkhunda*, by Munshi Qader Khan.

which believes in the leadership or Immamath of Ali, the fourth Calif and his progeny. Tavernier, the French traveller, who came to Hyderabad in the seventeenth century narrates that earlier the name of this city was Baghnagar[1] or 'The city of gardens'. Rafiuddin Shirazi, in his history *'Tazkarat-ul-Muluk'* describes 'The whole city a garden'[2]. Prof. H. K. Sherwani, on the basis of these facts discredits the romantic story narrated by Firishta[3], *Tarikh-e-Muhammad Qutub Shah*, the official chronicle of this dynasty, gives the date of A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1592) for the laying of the foundation of Hyderabad when in the same year Charminar, the famous edifice was constructed.[4] According to another historian, Hyderabad was founded in the year A. H. 999[5] (A. D. 1591). *Hadaeq-us-Salatin*[6] mentions that it was made the capital in the year A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595). It seems that the construction of royal palaces might have taken some time, so that the king shifted from Golcunda to Hyderabad in the year A.H. 1004. According to the author of *Bagh-e-Charchaman*, the chronogrammatic epithet *'Farkhunda Bunyad'* was given to Hyderabad in the year A.H. 1006[7] (A. D. 1597), seven years after its foundation. Various historic monuments of this king were constructed between A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1592) and A.H. 1006[8] (A.D. 1597).

From the above facts, it can be surmised that Hyderabad was made the capital between A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595) and A. H. 1006 (A. D. 1597), although it was founded between A.H. 998 (A D. 1590) and A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1592).

A. H. SIDDIQUI

15

COPPER COINS OF BURHAN NIZAM SHAH III

(Pl. VI)

After the decline of the Bahmani kingdom, the provincial governors became autonomous and soon declared their independence. Nizam Shahi dynasty was one of them which emerged at Junnar. Its first ruler, Ahmad Nizam-Ul-Mulk laid the foundations of the city of Ahmadnagar in A. H.

1. Tavernier : *Travels in India*, p. 132.
2. *Tazkarat-ul-Muluok* (MSS), State Library Hyderabad, p. 613.
3. Prof. H. K. Sherwani, *Bhagmati ka Afsana* (Urdu).
4. *Tarikh-e-Muhammad Qutub Shah* (MSS), State Library Hyd., p. 248.
5. *Bagh-e-Charchaman*, p. 23; also *Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 15.
6. *Hadaeq-us-Salatin*, MSS (Salarjung Library), p. 114 a.
7. *Bagh-e-Charchaman*, p. 23.
8. *Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 15.

900 (A.D. 1494) and made it his capital.[1] The copper coins of this dynasty are published by Mr. F. J. Thanawalla[2]; wherein he mentions the coins of Daulatabad mint as follows[3]—

Obverse **Reverse**

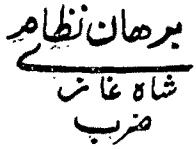
برهان نظام

شهور فی
دولتاباد

He suggested that these coins may either be of the second ruler Burhan Nizam Shah I (914-961 A.H.—1508—1554 A.D.) or of the seventh ruler Burhan Nizam Shah II, (999-1093 A.H., 1591-1595 A. D.). I have a number of coins of this type which are circular in shape. They are of two sizes and weight—(i) .8″ in size and 14.014 grammes (230 grains) in weight (ii) .65″ in size and 8.837 to 9.36688 grammes (145 to 154 grains) in weight.

According to the calligraphic arrangements, which is *Naskh* the obverse legends may be distinguished in two forms—

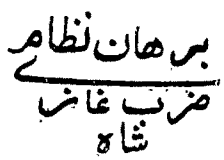
(i) Obverse **Reverse**

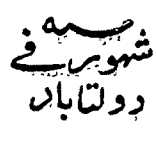




(Pl. VI. 15, 16 & 20) **(Pl. VI. 21-24)**

(ii) Obverse **Reverse**





(Pl. VI. 14 & 17-19) **(Pl. VI. 21-24)**

In the first form the word *Shah* شاہ occurs preceding the word غازے (*Ghazi*), whereas in the second the word ضرب (*Zarb*) is found before the word غازے (*Ghazi*). On no other known

1. *Firishta*, II, p. 97 ; *Ma'athi-ul-Umara*, III, p. 906.
2. *Num. Sup.*, VII (48), p. 51.
3. *Ibid*, Coin No. 3-5.

coin of this dynasty, the word *Ghazi* is found, which means 'Victorious'.

On the reverse of these coins is the usual legend referring to the date as *Fi Shahur San* (in the months of the year). The date is given on the upper part of the coin above the word *San*, which on one seems to be A. H. 1028 (A.D. 1619) coin No. 11, but it is not fully legible. The Nizam Shahi kings used two Eras the Hijri and the Shahur San. But as the dates on the inscriptions and official records are exclusively in Hijri; the dates inscribed on the coins should also be Hijri.

The mint name Daulatabad is written in a peculiar manner, which resembles to the *Tughra* style. The letters ه and ، of ۏ،ه are written as superscript intersecting the upper parts of the letters د and ا respectively. The letter ه of ەڕ is also written in the same manner and occurs at the top of ڕ intersecting the letter ا of ڕ.

The attribution of these coins to Burhan Nizam Shah I or II is not correct as during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah I, Ahmadnagar was the capital and his extant coins bear the mint-name *Nagar*[1] (Ahmadnagar). In the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah II, Burhanabad was the capital and his coins dated A. H. 1001 (A. D. 1592) bear the name *Burhanabad.*[2] Daulatabad had never attained any importance during the reigns of Burhan I or II. Only when Ahmadnagar was captured by prince Daniyal, son of Akbar in A.H. 1009[3] (19th August 1600),[4] the seat of government was shifted first to Junnar and then to Daulatabad in the year A.H. 1016[5] (A.D. 1607) during the reign of Murtaza Nizam Shah II.

Daulatabad, due to its impregnable position was the proper refuge of the Nizam Shahi kings, which could withstand the increasing pressure of the Mughal armies. The harrasing guerilla warfare, with which the Maratha peasants were trained, also contributed to the defence of this fort. In view of this all-important position of the fort, bearing the name Daulatabad, should be attributed to this fort and the coins with the name *Burhan Nizam Shah* to a later ruler Burhan Nizam Shah III.

1. *Num. Sup.*, VII, (48), p. 51, Coin No. 1.
2. *Ibid*, Coin No. 6.
3. *Epig. Ind. Mosl.*, Suppl. 1933-34, p. 3 and also Elliot and Dowson, VI, p. 144, *Firishta*, III, p. 164; *Akbaranāmā*, III, pp. 774-775.
4. *Maāsir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 7; *Basatin*, p. 261.
5. S. Ahmadullah Quadri; *Memoirs of Chandbibi*, p. 42.

The name of Burhan Nizam Shah III is not found mentioned by most of the historians of the Deccan. Even Colonel T.W. Haig, whose list of Muslim dynasties is most reliable, has omitted his name and confused his reign with that of Murtaza Nizam Shah II.[1] But the name of Burhan Nizam Shah III is well-preserved in *Basatin-us-Salatin.*[2] G. Yazdani, has shown conclusively on the basis of a number of inscriptions that after Murtaza Nizam Shah II, Burhan Nizam Shah III was enthroned[3]. In the year A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610), we find a bitter enemity between Murtaza Nizam Shah II and Malik Amber[4]; An inscription on the fort of Antur (Aurangabad district) of the same year refers to Burhan Nizam Shah as the reigning king[5]. *Basatin* also mentions the name of Burhan Nizam Shah III regularly after the year A.H. 1020[6] (A.D. 1611).

The diary of the Dutchman, Pieter Van den Broeke, who led his ship wrecked crew from Gandivi (Gujrat) to the East Coast (Masulipattam) in November and December 1617 (A.H. 1026), also furnishes some information in this respect. He says—

'After the death of his master, Malik (Amber) turned to theft and robbery and thus obtained a large following so that eventually he came to command more than eight thousand horsemen and gained many partisans. Seeing this, the king (Murtaza Nizam Shah II) again offered peace and the Malik answered that if the king would forget the past and ask for his daughter to marry her as a queen, he would serve him faithfully against the Great Mogul and would always be his subject. The king, with the approval of his counsellors, agreed to this contract and married the Malik's daughter as a queen with great pomp and magnificence before all the world. Later, it happened that the king's first wife, who was a white Persian woman, reproached Malik Amber's daughter with bitter words.....The daughter told her father, who was so angry that he determined to have the king killed and at last gained over the king's secretary, Mir Abdul Fateh, who poisoned him with a drink of which he died, leaving a minor son. The Malik at once took charge of the minor and made himself master of the whole country. The son is now twelve years old and was only five when his father died[7]."

1. *Historic Land marks of the Deccan*, 236.
2. *Basatin-Us-Salātīn*, Hyd. ed .pp. 286-306.
3. *Epig. Ind. Mosl.*, 1919-20, p. 12-13; Supp., 1933-34, p. 22.
4. *Basatin*, Hyd. ed., p. 270.
5. *Epig. Ind. Mosl.*, 1919-20, pl. VII, b.
6. *Basatin*, Hyd. ed., p. 270.
7. *The Journal of Indian History*, April 1938, pp. 146-147; Gujrat to Golcunda-reign of Jehangir, by W.H. Moreland.

Thus the diary of Broeke shows that in the year A.H.1026 (A.D. 1617), the minor king (Burhan Nizam Shah III) was twelve years old and his accession took place in the year A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610), when he was only five years old. Further, on the manuscript *Nai Nama* of Mulla Jami, written by Muhammad Muhsin Hirani in Nastaliq, the seal of Burhan Nizam Shah is found with the endorsement that it belongs to the royal library, with the date *Zul Hajja 1034 A.H.*[1] (1625 A.D).

A number of inscriptions mention the name of Burhan Nizam Shah III[2]. The inscription dated A.H. 1025 (A.D.1616) on a pillar of Kamani Masjid, Shivneri Hill, Junnar district, records that Burhan Nizam Shah III was the son of Murtaza II[3]. *Basatin* refers to the death of Burhan III either at the hands of Fath Khan, son of Malik Amber or by natural death and followed by enthronement of his young son of seven years namely Hussain Nizam Shah III[4]. Khafi Khan mentions the death of Nizam ul-Mulk at the hands of Fath Khan, son of Malik Amber in A.H. 1040[5] (A.D. 1631).

Thus it is evident that these coins of Daulatabad mint can only be attributed to Burhan Nizam Shah III. The honorific title *'Ghazi'*, which is appended to the name of the king, is in the style of Mughal Emperors and seems to signify the victories gained over the Mughal armies during his reign, due to the able generalship of Malik Amber. The three Mughal expeditions led by Khan-e-Khanan, Khan-e-Azam and Abdullah Khan in A. H. 1019 (A. D. 1610), A. H. 1020 (A. D. 1611) and A. H. 1021 (A. D. 1611) respectively were repelled,[6] only the fourth expedition, led by prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) in A. H. 1025 (A. D. 1616) was successful.[7] In A. H. 1029 (A.D. 1620-21), the Nizam Shahi army recaptured Ahmadnagar and Berar and laid a seige of Burhanpur, followed by an attack on Mandu.[8] Again Shah Jahan returned and after fighting many a battle against Maratha odds at Mandu, Burhanpur and

1. *Annual Report of the Arch. Dept. of HEH the Nizam's Dominion*, 1930-31, pp. 34-35.
2. (a) *Epig. Ind. Mosl*, 1919-20, Inscription dated A.H. 1035 in Antur
   (b) *Ibid*, pp. 12-13 : Inscription dated A. H. 1024, in fort Antur.
   (c) *Ibid*, Suppl, 1933-34, p. 22 : Inscription no. 3439, dated A. H. 1025 (A. D. 1616).
   (d) *Ibid*, 1949.50, pp. 5-6 ; Inscription from Paithan, dated A.H. 1022 (A. D. 1613).
3. *Ibid*, Suppl. 1933-34, p. 22 ; Inscription no. 3440 dated A. H. 1025.
4. *Basatin*, p. 296 ; *Badshāh nama*, I, pt. I, p. 395, pt. II, p. 42.
5. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*, I, p. 401.
6. *Basatin*, p. 261 : *Iqbāl Nāmā*, p. 66 : *Maāsir-Ul-Umerā*, III, p. 9.
7. *Iqbal-Nama*, p. 66.
8. *Ibid*, p. 281.

the Deccan plains of Painghat and Balaghat, he captured Kirkee (present Aurangabad) and Pattan in A. H. 1030 (A.D. 1621).[1] But, when Shah Jahan revolted against his father Jahangir, these territories were partly recaptured by Malik Amber.[2]

A. H. SIDDIQUI

16

NOTE ON SOME LEGENDS OF THE BAHMANI COINS.

[Pl. VI]

This note is meant to correct some of the legends of the Bahmani coins, which are not properly deciphered and to draw such inferences from them that may be helpful in the proper attribution of the coins under review.

1. Large copper coins of Ahmad Shah II

Of the four types of copper coins of Ahmad Shah II the legend on the obverse of the large-sized ones is read by Codrington,[3] Speight[4] and R. Burn as—

Obv. المعتصم بالله المنان سمی خلیل الرحمن

(Pl. VI. 172)

Rev. علاء الدنیا والدین احمد شاه بن احمد شاه السلطان

(Pl. VI. 7)

Major. Whittel[5] reads an extra word محتل (*Muhtal*) at the top of the coin on its obverse. His reading is—

محتل المعتصم بالله المنان سمی خلیل الرحمن

Ch. Md. Ismail has modified this reading slightly. He reads[6]—

محتل المعتصم الله المنان سمی خلیل الرحمن

In these readings the words *Al-Motesim* and *Muhtal* placed together carry no meaning. The word *Al-Motesim* in Arabic means 'One who holds fast' and the word *Muhtal* means

1. *Ibid*, p. 182 ; *Basatin*, p. 272.
2. *Maāsir-Ul-Umera*, III, pp. 8-9.
3. *JBBRAS*, XVI, p. 99 ; Codrington : On copper coins of the Bahmani dynasty.
4. *Islamic Culture*, April 1935, p. 296, Pl. VII.
5. *NS*, XXXVII, (234), p. 32, coin no. 35.
6. *Ibid*, (foot-note).

'occupier'. As such *Al-Motesim Muhtal Allah* in the legend will mean 'Holder and Occupier of Allah' which conveys no sense.

I read the obverse legend on these coins as—

المعتصم بحبل الله المنان سمى خليل الرحمن

The word بحبل (*Be-habel*) means 'By the rope of'. And the word المعتصم (*al-Motesim*) means 'One who takes fast hold'. The legend would thus mean—

'Holder of the rope of Allah, the Ever-Bestowing' (literally it means 'The follower of the true path of the Faith), and is very much similar to the phrase 'the Friend of the Compassionate.' Prophet Ibrahim or Abraham is called *Khaleel-ullah* or 'Friend of Allah'.

The legend المعتصم بحبل الله is similar to the Quranic epithet اعتصم بحبل الله جميعاً, meaning 'You should all hold the rope of Allah'.

2. Copper coin of Humayun Shah

Of the three types of copper coins of Humayun Shah Bahmani *alias* Zalim, one has the legend on the reverse undeciphered and it is a subject of controversy. Codrington has described this coin with his readings as—

Obverse.	Reverse.
همايونشاه بن احمدشاه السلطان	دارار زكاهمان
(Pl. VI. 3)	(Pl. VI 8-10)

This is also acceptable to Prof. Speight and Major Whittel. But the reading *Dārār Zaka human* on the reverse conveys no meaning. So recenly, Hurmuz Kaus[1] has suggested the following reading—

دادار
نگاهبان

The word *dādār* is derived from the word *dād* meaning 'justice' and the word *dādār* means 'dispenser of justice'. It is

1. *Num. Circ.*, Dec. 1961.

one of the epithets of God and occurs in the *Avesta*, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians. The Persian kings were known as *Dādān* meaning 'The just' which is an equivalent to the word *Adil* found on the coins of various Muslim kings. Thus the legend *Dādār Nigāhbān* means 'The Dispenser of Justice is my guardian'.

Hurmuz has pointed out that the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, Alauddin Hasan, was a descendant of Kayanian dynasty of ancient Persia ; so he called himself *Bahman Shah* and the sixth ruler has also assumed a Persian title *Tahamtan Shah*. So, in his opinion Humayun Shah, also influenced by his Persian origin and culture, incorporated this Persian legend on his coin.

But his reading is not convincing for the following reasons—

(i) The first word of the legend contains the third letter clearly as ر (*Re*) rather than the letter د (*Dāl*). It differs with the first letter *Dāl*. Further, the upper portion of the word is vertical, whereas for the letter *Dāl* the upper portion is always inclined towards left. The fifth letter is distinctly *hamza* (ء) and not the letter ر (*re*), it differs from the third letter *Re*. It may also be an incomplete form of the letter ی (*Ye*). Thus the first word of the reverse legend is دارا (*Dārā*) or دارای (*Dārāi*) and not دادار (*Dādār*).

2. Humayun Shah, was so tyrannical that he was known amongst his people as *Zalim* (the Tyrant). A tyrant king, would not invoke the help of God in the name of justice and say 'the dispenser of Justice is my guardian'.

3. It is highly improbable that the fifth ruler of the Bahamani dynasty, would seek a phrase from the *Avesta* for his coins for the reason that his remote ancesters were related to the royal Kayanian dynasty of Persia.

The legend on the reverse of the coin in my opinion is either دارا or دارای
نگاهبان نگاهبان

If the last letter of the first word is taken as ء (*hamza*), the word will be دارا (*Dārā*) ; if it is taken to be ی (*Ya-e-Māroof*) then the first word would be دارای (*Dārāi*). The words *dārā* or *dārāi* are Persian and according to *Burhan-i-Qate* (ed. M. Moin) mean 'The Lord or Allah'. The second word of the legend has been rightly read by Hurmuz Kaus as نگاهبان (*Nigāhbān*). The letter ن (*nūn*) is connected with the letters گ at

the lower end. The letter ک (*Kāf*) has an additional *markaz* or stroke which makes it clear that the letter is گ (*Gāf*). Thus the second word is نگاهبان (*Nigāh-bān*) and not زکا همان (*zakā humān*).

The legend *Dārā Nigāh-bān* or *Dārāi Nigāh-bān*, means 'God is the saviour'. It conveys the same meaning as the Quranic phrase فالله خير حافظا (So Allah is the best saviour).

At the instigation of the kings of Vijayanagar[1] the sarafs used to melt the coins of the Bahmani kings, so, Muhammad Shah I, the second Bahamani king, massacred all the sarafs in the year A. H. 766 (A. D. 1359). This brought the desired effect for the time being. The present legend indicates that in the reign of Humayun Shah, the sarrafs renewed the melting of the coins.

The legend may also be read as نگاهبان دارای (*Nigāh-bān-e-Dārāi*). The word *Dārāi* means also 'Finance'. The Ministry of Finance in Iran even today is called وزارت دارائی (*Wizārat-e-Dārāi*). So the legend *Nigāh-bān-e-Dārāi* would mean 'The guardian of the treasury'. According to the Islamic concept of kingship, the king is the care-taker of the government and guardian of the treasury. Since this meaning of the word *Dārāi* is not given in Haim's *Dictionary*, it is not certain if the word *dārāi* conveyed this meaning in the nineth century Hijri. Therefore, I prefer the first reading i. e. '*Dārā nigāh-bān*'.

3. Small-sized copper coins of Mahmud Shah.

Prof. Speight has enlisted the small-sized copper coins of Mahmud Shah Bahmani with the legend[2]—

Obverse,	Reverse,
محمود شاه	بن محمد شاه

I have found two varieties of these small-sized coins, with the following legends—

(i) **Obverse,**

محمود
شاه

(Pl. VI. 4)

Reverse,

محمد شاه
بن

(Pl. VI. 11)

(ii) **Obverse,**

محمد شاه

(Pl. VI. 5-6)

Reverse.

بن
محمود شاه

(Pl. VI. 12-13)

1. *NS*, XXXIX, *JASB*, for 1925, (261).
2. *Islamic Culture*, April 1935, Pl. XVII, Coin nos. 7 & 8.

In Muslim writings the word *bin* or *ibn* (meaning, the son of) always precedes the name of the father. And on the coins it is found on the side which bears the name of the father of the issuing king. As such the coins of variety (i), which contain the word *bin* along with Muhammad Shah, would be the coins of Mahmud Shah, the son of Muhammad Shah (III). On the coins of variety (ii) the word *bin* is associated with Mahmud Shah and the name Muhammad Shah is on the other side of the coin. This suggests that they are the issues of a king named Muhammad Shah, who was the son of Mahmud Shah.

Only one king named Mahmud-Shah is known in the Bahmani dynasty. According to the known history, after Mahmud Shah, his sons Ahmad Shah IV and Alauddin had ascended the throne in succession. But the coins of both of these rulers are still unknown. Now, the present coins suggest that one of these sons of Mahmud Shah ascended the throne under the name of Muhammad Shah (IV). And he is identical with Alauddin. Thus a new name may now be added in the coin series of the Bahmani kings.

A. H. SIDDIQUI

17

SOME DATELESS COPPER COINS OF THE BAHMANI KINGS

[Pl. VII]

The copper coins of the Bahmani kings are found in abundance and variety. Most of the coins of these kings bear dates and so they can easily be assigned to particular kings. But on some of the coins of these kings dates are not found. A few of such dateless coins form the subject of study of this article.

Coin No. I

Weight : 27.3 grains (I 6624 grains).
Size : 0.45″
Shape : Circular.

Obv. ابو المظفر

Rev. محمد شاه السلطان

Pl. VII. 1 **Pl. VII. 2**

There are three Bahmani kings who assumed the title of Muhammad Shah. All of these kings bear the 'Kuniyat' of Abul-Muzzafar. The name of Muhammad Shah III is always suffixed by the name of his father, Humayun Shah. Both Muhammad Shah I and Muhammad Shah II have used the name '*Abul-Muzzafar, Muhammad Shah*', the former on his coins of all the three metals and the latter only on gold and silver issues. As the copper coins of early rulers of this dynasty are very small in size, this small-size coin can be assigned to Muhammad Shah I. The style of writing of this coin is very similiar to that of other copper coins of Muhammad Shah I. Some of the other copper coins of Muhammad Shah I bear the following inscriptions:

1. **Obv.** **Rev.**



2. **Obv.** **Rev.**



.3 **Obv.** **Rev.**



Thus, the obverse legend of other types is bifurcated in this coin. The Kuniyat '*Abul-Muzzar*' is retained on the obverse and the name of the king, *Muhammad Shah* (along with an additional word *As-Sultan*) has been shifted to the reverse of the coin. Further, the legend of this copper coin is very similiar to that of the copper coin of Mujahid Shah, the subsequent ruler. The legend of the copper coin of Mujahid Shah is as follows:

Obv. Rev.

ابو المغازی

مجاهد
شاه

Similiarity of both of these coins lies in respect that both of them contain Kuniyat of the king on the obverse and the name of the king on the reverse of the coin. Hence, this small-size coin can be assigned to Muhammad Shah I.

Coin. No. 2

Weight : 55.66 grains (3.6070 gr. grams).
Size : 0.55″.

Obv. Rev.

احمد شاه
دیندار

قالع بذر
الکفار

Pl. VII. 3. **Pl. VII. 4.**

The obverse of the coin bears the name of the king, Ahmad Shah with the honorofic title '*Deendar*', meaning 'The Pious' or 'The Religious man'. The reverse of the coin contains the legend in Arabic which runs as '*Qale-o-Bazar Kuffar*', or *Qāle-o-Bazarin Kuffāra* which means 'The Destroyer of the generation of infidels'. According to the calligraphy, small letter ا (alif) over the letter ع (ain) signifies the completion of the word *Qāle*. Such a style of calligraphy is found on the coins of other Muslim dynasties, such as on the copper coins of Ali Adil Shah II, the word *Ali Adil Shah* is written as عادلشاه

There are four Bahmani kings who ascended the throne by the name of Ahmad Shah. Out of these, coins of Ahmad Shah IV, son of Mahmud Shah, are still unknown, but the type is expected to be similar to that of Mahmud Shah.

This coin can be ascribed to Ahmad Shah I, because Ahmad Shah was known as '*Wali*' or 'The Saint'. Saboor observes, "Kings and Emperors generally assume grandiloquent, high sounding and awe-inspiring titles on

coming to the throne. It seldom happens that people confer any title on their rulers, though there are several instances of kings having been nick-named by subjects on the strength of some queer trait in their character or temperament. But Ahmad Shah I was called *'Wali'* by the populace on account of rain having fallen after a severe drought by his intercession with Heaven. The Sultan was glad to be called *Wali* but, perhaps, out of modesty, he did not assume it on coins and official reeords. But his successors in their coins have mentioned him as *Wali*",[1] Thus, although Ahmad Shah I could not call himself *Wali* or 'The Saint', still in this coin he is entitled as *'Deendar'* or 'The Pious', which reflects the spiritual and religious piety of the king.

The style of writing the word *Ahmad* is noteworthy. On the other coins of Ahmad Shah I, the word Ahmad is written as احمد so that the letter alif ا passes through the centre of the head of the letter ح Hai. On the coins of Ahmad Shah II, the word Ahmad is written as احمد, so that the lower part of the letter alif ا is connected with the head of the letter Hai ح. On the coins of Ahmad Shah III, the word Ahmad is written as احمد and we find that the letter alif ا and Hai ح are distinctly separate. On this coin, the style of writing Ahmad is similiar to that of the other coins of Ahmad Shah I and so atribution of this coin to Ahmad Shah I is furter justified.

The inscription of the reverse of the coin "The Destroyer of the generation of infidels" refers to the victories of this king against the Vijayanagar kings.

Coin No. 3.

Weight : 51.16 grains (3.3156 grams).
Size : 0.5".
Shape : Circular.

Obverse احمد شاه

Pl. VII. 5

Reverse ولی الله

Pl. VII. 6

1. *Num. Supp.* XXXIX, *JASB*, for 1925, Article 261.

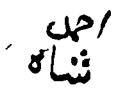
The obverse of the coin bears the name of the king, Ahmad Shah. The reverse of coin entitles the king as *'Zil-e-Illah'* or the 'Shadow of Almighty'.

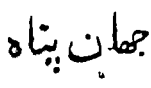
As this coin coin contains the word Ahmad written as احمد, so that the lower end of the letter alif ا is connected with the head of the letter ح (Hai) and such a style of writing of the word Ahmad is found on the coins of Ahmad Shah II, therefore this coin can be assigned to Ahmad Shah II.

Coin No. 4.

Weight : 26.08 grains (1.6904 grams).
Size : 0.4".
Shape : Circular.

Obverse **Reverse**





Pl. VII. 7 **Pl. VII. 8 & 9**

In this coin, the obverse bears the name of the king, *Ahmad Shah*. The word *Ahmad* is written in such a manner that the lower end of the letter alif ا is connected with head of the next letter Hai ح, therefore it—like the above-mentioned coin no. 3—pertains to the reign of Ahmad Shah II. The reverse of the coin contains the honorefic title of the king as *Jahan Panah*, meaning 'The Refuge of the world'.

A. H. SIDDIQUI

18

ON A COPPER COIN OF FIROZSHĀH BAHMANĪ

[Pl. VIII]

Similar coins have been published by H. M. Whittel[1] and E. F. Speight[2], but the present coin shows some notable characteristics.

1 Whittell, H. M, *NS.*, XXVII, p. 29.
2. Speight, E. E., "The coins of the Bahmani Kings of the Deccan," *Islamic Culture*, April, 1935, p. 295, pl. V, Nos. 1625. I am grateful to Shri A.H. Siddiqui for these references and also for the reading of a part of the legend.

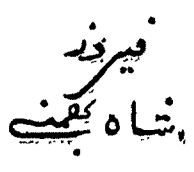
This coin was handed over to me by Shri P. C. Pant of the College of Indology, B. H. U., Varanasi. He obtained this coin at Ahmadnagar sometime in 1959.

Speight, who has published ten coins of this type, has not given the weight and size of the coins, though he has mentioned that the "sizes of these coins are those of the originals. The weights of any of them can be communicated if desired."[1] However, we are left unknown about the weights of these coins. Whittel has supplied the weight of his one published coin, though unillustrated. The weight of Whittel's coins is 80 grs.[2] = 5.184 grams. Our coin weighs 5.825 grams, and is .63 inch in size.

The two *nukhtas* of *ye* of the word *Firoz* seen on the present coin are absent on the illustrated specimens of Speight. The *nukhta* of *be* of *Bahamanī* is faintly seen only on one piece.

The letters on the obverse of this coin start from XII and end at VI. One coin of Speight, No. 21 is quite similar to it but the letters are not well written. The letters executed on the present coin are very fine and stylistic than the so far published coins of this type.

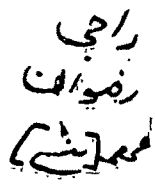
Obv.



Or

Firoz Shāh Bahamanī

Rev.



Or

Raji ridwān Mahmani

NISAR AHMAD

19

BRONZE MEDALLION ISSUED BY THE MINT AT BOMBAY

[Pl. VII]

The bronze medallion, **Plate VII. 14**, must have been issued by the mint at Bombay to mark some event of outstanding interest, or on an anniversary of one; or were possibly presented to visitors to the mint as a souvenir.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 282.
2. Whittell, *op cit*, p. 29.

As there appeared to be no way in which to ascertain why they had been issued, Dr. P. L. Gupta of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, was approached for his assistance. The enquiry, which he addressed to the Mint authorities, produced no results as he was informed no records were available which would explain the necessity for their issue.

In addition to the medallion which forms the subject of this note one other is known to be in the collection of the British Museum. Here also no particulars are available which can help in explaining why they were issued, or to establish the year of issue.

A book, *The Bombay Mint Hand-Book and Code of Rules* by H. J. K. Wallis. Capt: I. A., Officiating Master of the Mint, in the Central Library of the British Museum has supplied some information. It establishes the fact that the medallion was issued by the Mint as a commemorative. From a photographic illustration of the Mint building in the *Hand-Book* it is certain the obverse of the medallion has a representation of the main portico. The Mint is stated to have been designed and constructed by Major John Hawkins of the Bombay Engineers. The work was commenced in the year 1824 and completed in 1829. The medallion need not necessarily have been issued in the latter year, but there is the possibility it was issued in 1829, or some time shortly after the work was completed.

In the Appendices, Part IV, of the *Hand-Book*, Appendix "H", which furnishes a "List of Medal Dies Retained in the Mint", is found an item under "Exhibitions, Shows, etc.", "Mint Commemorative", but no date or particulars are furnished. The reference would appear to point to this medallion.

The information available, with an illustration of the medallion (**Pl. VII, 14**), is published with the hope that further details may be furnished with particulars of the year in which it was issued.

It is strange that although it was issued as recently as the nineteenth century no records appear to exist in the Mint concerning it, or to the year in which it was issued.

C. H. BIDDULPH.

20

A DOUBLE MOHAR OF ŚIVA SIṂHA MALLA OF ḲATHAMANDU

Reading in Wright's Vaṁśāvalī[1] that, towards the first half of the 16th Century, King Mahendra Malla "went to Dihli with a present of a swan and hawks for the Emperor, who, being much pleased therewith, granted his permission to strike coin in his own name, in weight six mashas. He struck this coin, and called it mohar, and made it current in every part of his country", one may doubt—on chronological and historical grounds—the genuinity of the episode, but one would expect to find evidence of such coins at least in the few collections which specialize in the field of Nepalese Numismatics.

Unfortunately very little has come to us from this initial stage of the Nepalese mediaeval coinage, from Mahendra and his immediate successors, very few specimens have been adequately published and even Walsh[2]—whose work is still of fundamental importance 45 years after its publication—started his catalogue from the middle of the 17th Century, leaving a gap of about a 100 years which has still to be explored.

I therefore think readers may be interested in the following description of a double Mohar of Śiva Siṁha Malla, the younger son of Mahendra from a Takuri mother, a "wise man" according to the Vaṁśāvalī, who reigned in Kathamandu after the expulsion of his licentious brother, Sadāśiva Malla.

AR, round

Obv. In small central circle, a *vajra* or *bajra* (emblem of the Vajrayāna Buddhist sect, symbolizing lightning) with streamers and dots to r. and l. Above *Śri* in large characters, between two crescents with dots. In smaller character, tangent to the inner circle, *Śiva Sim*. Around marks which are generally taken for imitations of Arabic characters upside-down. Border of bold dots.

Rev. In small central circle *triśūla* (Śiva's trident) with ornamental scrolls. Above *khaḍga* (sword) with wreath, flanked to left by noose. Around imitation of Arabic characters upside down and border of bold dots.

(See the attached plate)

1. D. Wright, *History of Nepal*. Re-edited in 1958 by Susil Gupta (India) Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta, p. 125.
2. E. H. Walsh, 'The coinage of Nepal,' in *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 669 & ff.



Enlargement of a Double Mohar of Śiva Simha Malla of Nepal

Size 32.2 mm.

Weight 16.50 gms. (or ca. 162 grs.), corresponding to about 12 mashas.[1] Setting of dies : ↑

Apparently unpublished and not in the Numismatic Museum of Kathamandu.

—*C. VALDETTARO*

1. Wright gives, for the silver measurements, the following equivalents : (p. 183 of the above Edition).
12 Masas=1 tola
This would give a masha of 15 grains and my coin would weigh less than 11 grains ; taking instead a masha of 14.4 grs. (Cunningham, *CAI*, p. 45) the coin comes to about 12 mashas, or two mohars.

NOTES & NEWS

COMMUNICATIONS

1

11th November, 1964.

Sir,

The Marathas in Southern India and Their Coinage

I enjoyed greatly Mr. Biddulph's interesting and authoritative article on the above subject which appeared in the *JNSI* Vol. XXV, (1963) Part II, Pages 219/237. I have in my collection about 50 pieces of Chhatrapati copper coins which I collected in Poona old bazaar. There are several varieties. Some bear the name of *Sahu Chhatrapati* while others bear the legend *Sri Raia Chhatrapati* with Hijri date 1234 in Nagari numerals. There are also three coins of smaller denominations, in my collection, and I append below their descriptions separately :—

1. Æ **Obv.** : *Sri Raj-Si*
   Rev. : *Chhatta—ti*
   Weight 72 grains

2. Æ **Obv.** : *Raj—*
   Rev. : *Chhatra—ti*
   Weight 63 grains.

3. Æ **Obv.** . *Sri Ra—Si*
   Rev. : *Chha—Pati*
   Weight 35 grains.

All the above coins have a single horizontal line between the *sri* and *raja*, and according to Rev. J. E. Abbott they are considered as older ones.

It will be observed that the legends on these three coins are not complete yet they are sufficiently clear to assign the coins either to Siva Chhatrapati or to the other Chhatrapatis of the dynasty. This clearly establishes the fact that fractional denominations below the pice were minted and were in circulation.

On page 231 Mr. Biddulph has described coin No. 13 as follows :—

"AE Paisa 10 cash : Obv. : *Sri Sarabha Raja.* Rev. : *Chhatrapati.* Weight 151.6 grains. Mint : Tanjore. A rare coin (10 cash) in British Museum collection."

And on page 229 he has assigned the above coin to Sarabhoji Raja of Tanjore (1798-1824). I am in doubt whether the legends on this coin (more especially on the reverse of it) have been correctly read, because the Maratha dynasty of Tanjore was a separate branch altogether and it appears to me that the use of that distinguished title *Chhatrapati* by the Tanjore rulers is somewhat curious. Some more light may be thrown on this point.

Thanking you.

Yours faithfully,
D. M. Phatak
623/33 Sadashiv Peth,
Deshmukh Wadi,
Poona–2.

2

Some Notable Mughal Coins

Dear Sir,

Shri C. R. Singhal writing on "Some Notable Mughal Coins" in *JNSI*, XXVI, Pt. I. p. 60 published a rupee of korā mint of Shāh Jahan II Rafi-ud-daulah. Referring to it he states that "except a passing reference by Taylor no other coins of Shāh Jahān II of kora mint are described anywhere". But one coin of this mint of Shāh Jahān II has been recorded in *The Supplement to the Volume III of the Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 156, No. 1518. This coin-type, however, is not illustrated—neither by S. Ahmad, the compiler of the aforesaid *Supplement* nor by Shri C. R. Singhal.

Yours faithfully,
N. AHMAD
College of Indology,
Banaras Hindu University,
Varanasi—5.

Addenda & Corrigenda

JNSI, Vol. XXVI, Pt. I

"Countermarked Coins of the Shahs of Persia" by C. H. Biddulph.

Page 77. Fourth line :—
read Pl. IV, No. 12 for Pl. X. No. 12.

Page 77. Fifth line :—
read Pl. V. No. 1 for Pl. X. No. 13.

OBITUARY

Dr. JOHN WALKER

Dr. John Walker, Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, London, died on Nov. 12th, 1964. He was a great scholar in Arbic, and his most important works were in the field of Islamic numismatics. He published two masterly volumes of the British Museum Catalogue of Muhammadan Coins : Vol. I, Arab-Sassanian—1941 and Vol. II, Arab-Byzantine and post reform Ummaiyad coins—1956. Both of these are of fundamental and lasting importance for the numismatic history of the early Islamic period. Among his many shorter monographs and articles are included such subjects as the second Saffarid dynasty of Sistan, the Sultans of Kilwa, an ancient dynasty of Hatra in Mesopotamia, and the important identification of coins of a previously unknown group of Arab Amirs in tenth century Crete. He also wrote on subjects connected with South Arabia in antiquity and had begun to prepare a new treatment of its coinages. His place among the great numismatic scholars is secure and distinguished.

He will be justly remembered not only in his official capacity as the man in charge of one of the world's greatest coin collection but also for his long and valued labours as Secretary and Editor of the Royal Numismatic Society. His achievements were rewarded by official recoguition in the form of the C. B. E. and as recipient of the medal of the Royal Numismatic Society and of the American Numismatic Society. He was an honoured Life Member of the Numismatic Society of India. To all his friends and colleagues who will remember John Walker with affection and gratitude his sudden death came as a great shock and a profound personal loss. It is gratifying to realise how much deep appreciation was evoked by his manifold, kind and helpful services to numerous scholars, both in his own and other fields, throughout the world.

G. K. JENKINS

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 53rd ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA HELD AT GAUHATI ON THE 2nd & 3rd OF JANUARY, 1965

The 53rd Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India was held this year at Gauhati on the 2nd and 3rd January, 1965. The Conference was inaugurated on 2nd January at 4 P.M. in the District Library Hall, Gauhati. The inauguration was largely attended by the members of the Society as well as the delegates to the session of the All India Oriental Conference. Shri A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology in India, the President-elect of the Society, was in the Chair. Welcoming the President Shri Ghosh on the occasion, Prof. Jagannath Agrawal outlined the importance of numismatics and the significant role of the Numismatic Society of India in furthering study and research in numismatics. Pointing out to the desirability of more sympathetic attitude of the Government towards the Society, Prof. Agrawal said the Society was doubly fortunate in having as its President Shri A. Ghosh who was not only a distinguished archaeologist of the country and who thus fully realised the importance of numismatics but one who heads the Directorate General of Archaeology in India and was therefore in a position to influence the Government to take keener interest in the affairs of the Society and to affect a closer liason between the Department of Archaeology and the Numismatic Society which will be of immence benefit to the study of India's past. Prof. Agrawal then requested Shri Ghosh to deliver his Presidential Address.

* * * *

Presidential Address

Shri A. Ghosh delivered his Presidential Address as follows:

"Friends and Fellow-workers.

"I cannot adequately express my thanks to the Executive Council of the Numismatic Society of India for having chosen me as the President of the Society for the current year. This thanksgiving is much more sincere than the customary formality: for, whereas all my predecessors were the leading numismatists of the country, I have no hesitation in confessing what is already known to you, that is, my contribution to numismatics

is nil. I have taken it, therefore, that my selection has been on grounds other than numismatic scholarship and have also accepted the invitation and the honour on considerations other than my technical competence. Let me warn you, therefore, against expecting a learned numismatic discourse in my present address to you: I shall make no pretensions of telling you anything new about coins but shall confine myself to a few general observations. It is a well-established convention that the annual President should mention in his address the recent discoveries and publications in the field. I shall refrain from doing so, as I cannot claim that I can augment your knowledge.

"Though never actively connected with the Society, not even a subscription-paying member thereof, I have always cherished the highest regard for it. Led and manned by selfless workers, who have not only kept the torch burning but have added greater and greater glow to it, the Society has now established itself as a unique institution in the academic sphere. In the new building that has come up at Vārāṇasī the soul of the Society has, as it were, found its body. It now remains to find out ways and means to make that body more and more efficient and effective in giving shape to the mission of its soul. And after a fruitful existence of more than fifty years, it is time that that mission was clearly defined. You, who have in the past interested yourselves more in the Society than I have, are no doubt in a more privileged position to make that definition. But I may be allowed to place before you my conception of what should be the Society's mission. The Society should develop a rich coin-collection of its own—in originals as far as possible and in replicas—and an equally rich library, so that it becomes the focal centre of research in Indian numismatics. As and when this is put into practice, the work will outgrow the capacities of honorary workers, however enthusiastic. There will then be the need of a wholetime director assisted by a wholetime staff. It is not possible that all these developments will take place within a few months or even years. Nevertheless, once a definite objective is before us, it is likely that there will be some striving for achieving it. I therefore put it to you that the ideal of the Society should be to develop itself into, or promote the inception and growth of, an Institute of Indian Numismatics. The hurdles in the way are sure to be many, but that need not frighten us away from even setting the ideal before us and planning for its fulfilment.

"From the land of ideals let me descend to earth or even below it, viz. archaeology in relation to coins. The excavator of a site of the historical period knows how valuable coins are

in providing the upper chronological limits of his strata and periods. How coins have helped in the absolute (as distinct from relative) dating of archaeological material has been satisfactorily dealt with by a young colleague of mine.[1] But this presupposes that the coins themselves are firmly dated, which, as we are all aware, is unfortunately not always the case. The same is equally true of dating on the basis of palaeography.

"Another colleague of mine proposes to work on the reverse thesis: is it possible to work out the period of coins of uncertain dates on the basis of archaeological stratification? One recalls how almost sixty years back the excavation at Taxila settled the then-disputed priority of the Kadphises group of rulers over the Kanishka group.

"Two major problems which excavations, and they alone, can solve are: (1) the antiquity of coinage in India, and (2) the relative chronology of punch-marked and cast coins. In regard to the first, I may state that a large number of sites with protohistoric and historical deposits have of late been excavated all over India, particularly in north and central India and in the Deccan, and at all of them coins are associated only with the beginnings of the historical period. I admit that these beginnings themselves require a greater chronological definition than is available at present, specially with reference to individual regions. Making all reservations for such a definition and for what the future may reveal, coinage does not seem to have been introduced in any part of India before the sixth century B. C., may be somewhat later, though some have cited literary passages, with supposed interpretations thereof, in support of an earlier dating. It is fascinating to speculate on what economic factors were responsible for, or were favourable to, the advent of coins, as also on whether any foreign influences w re at work. If there were extraneous factors, we have to pin-point their nature: was it only the idea of coinage that came to India, as 'ideas have wings', or was there something more concrete than mere ideas? I am afraid all that has been said on the subject till now lacks precision.

"On the second problem, viz. the relative chronology of punch-marked and cast coins, the general view, based on *a priori* considerations, is that the former are earlier than the latter. But the evidence of careful excavations is more in favour of their contemporaneity than otherwise. The evidence

1 S. C. Ray, *Stratigraphic Evidence of Coins in Indian Excavations and Some Allied Issues*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 8 (Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1959).

is derived from the excavations at Hastināpura,[1] Śrāvastī[2] and Tilaura-koṭ,[3] the last in the Nepal *tarai* (identified by some with the ancient Kapilavāstu, though the recent excavation there did not yield anything in support or refutation of the identification); at all these sites the co-occurrence of the two classes of coins is attested. The evidence from Kauśāmbī and Rājghāṭ, two other major sites in the Gaṅgā valley under excavation, will, when fully available, be interesting in this direction. Even if the priority of one class over the other is established by future work, the economic and political conditions that made the simultaneous currency of both the classes in the same region possible have to be understood, not to speak of the origin of the two different techniques.

"Noteworthy is the occurrence at Tilaura-koṭ of die-struck coins along with punch-marked and uninscribed cast ones. Of particular interest are the die-struck and cast coins with the symbol of a four-spoked wheel, the reverse being plain. The flan of the cast coins is larger than that of the die-struck ones, and the junction of the spokes is thickened resulting in a tiny pellet. The four-spoked wheel seems to have been the symbol of Tilaura-koṭ when it was the capital of an independent state in the first three centuries or so before Christ.

"It is not my intention to examine the stratigraphy of coins in all recent excavations and their value in absolute and relative chronology. The above examples will show how excavations can help in establishing the concurrence and sequence of techniques, which are likely to be lost sight of if coins are divorced from their context and studied individually.

"A great lacuna in our knowledge is the metallurgical aspect of coins. Large-scale physical and chemical analyses of coins would doubtless lead to an understanding of ancient metallurgy. The identification of the mines from which the ores were extracted would give us an inkling into ancient trade and commerce. The proportion of alloy in a class of coins may lead to significant conclusions on the prosperity or otherwise of the ruler who issued them and of his state. I am sure an equipped laboratory can work on the subject for several years.

"Fresh discoveries of coins have been being published yearly in *Indian Archaeology—A Review*; since its inception in 1954 there has been in it a chapter on Numismatics and Treasure-trove. But as its editor I know how inadequate the infor-

1 *Ancient India*, nos. 10 and 11 (1954 and 1955), p. 101.
2 Information from Dr. K.K. Sinha.
3 Information from Shrimati D. Mitra.

mation often is. If the suppliers of the material would give us more accurate information than what we sometimes get (for instance, 'so many Mughal coins were discovered' or, worse still, 'coins weighing so many hundred *tolās* were acquired as treasure-trove'), we shall be glad to incorporate it in the chapter, so that it is more useful to numismatists than it is now.

"And that brings me to the operation of the almost-a-century-old Treasure-trove Act. In spite of its age the Act still stands us in good stead in bringing to notice and acquiring valuable finds, but, as is well-known and is often lamented, its cumbrous procedure and, what is more, the ignorance of the people have resulted in the loss of many a precious hoard. Arising out of a resolution of a member of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology, a Committee was set up in 1963 to recommend measures on evolving a simplified procedure for payment to owners and finders of treasure-trove, so as to provide the necessary incentive for the declaration of the find. The recommendations of the Committee have been brought to the notice of all State Governments by the Government of India; the chief of them is that the compulsory declaration of a find should be made to the village *panchayat* (and not to the District Collector as laid down in the present Act), which should also be competent to acquire the find. If implemented, they may have some salutary result, but nothing less than an extensive public education will produce the desired effect in full.

"It has been suggested that the Numismatic Society should have some voice in the aquisition and distribution of treasure-trove coins. I do not know how far it is possible to vest such executive functions in the Society in its present set-up, but concrete proposals may be put forward for the consideration of the authorities.

"Bringing out catalogues of coins lying in different museums is a part of the programme of bringing coins to light. The need has been emphasized by so many others before me that I need not add my voice to theirs. It is satisfactory to note that the Andhra Pradesh Government have brought out within a short period as many as six catalogues of coins in the Hyderabad State Museum and that the Asutosh Museum has produced a catalogue of indigenous coins in its possession. I am also glad to say that the Trustees of the Indian Museum have decided to bring up-to-date Smith's invaluable catalogue and have commissioned the veteran Dr. J. N. Banerjea for the purpose. It is imperative that other museums should follow suit without delay; the Government of India are prepared to give grants-in-aid for the purpose. The case of private

collections is more difficult, for here we can only depend on the goodwill of the owners in bringing their collections to public notice in the form of catalogues ; sometimes they may be chary of doing so for a variety of reasons.

"The 1955-session of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology adopted a resolution of Dr. A. S. Altekar to the effect that steps should be taken to examine the coins that had reached some of the State Governments as a result of the merger of the former Princely States. Accordingly, the Archaeological Survey of India entrusted the work to the distinguished numismatist Shri C. R. Singhal, who examined and prepared a working-list of over six hundred coins in the Jaipur Treasury and over seven thousand coins in the Gwalior Treasury. But this is only a fraction of the task of bringing to light coins lying hidden in official chests. Perhaps many Government Treasuries and the Mints have with them collections which should be brought to notice and should even be transferred to more easily accessible institutions such as museums, where they will be better utilized. I am sure our State Museums can take effective steps in this direction with little effort.

"An administrator-member of the Central Advisory Board of Museums and Archaeology in 1953 drew the attention of the Boards to the dearth of competent numismatists in the country to hold charge of coin-collections in museums. To judge from the papers published in the Journal of the Society it appears that senior persons no longer solely hold the ground of numismatic studies but the younger generation is also coming forward. Yet the administrator's difficulties may be genuine, as equally genuine is the apprehension that young epigraphists are dwindling in number. I am afraid short-term training in these subjects, such as is being imparted in some universities in their diploma-courses, is not a complete solution to the problem ; it no doubt promotes the acquisition of some knowledge but does not produce specialists. Some thoughts have to be bestowed on the problem.

"This reminds me of the question of coins in relation to their repositories – the museums : how coins should be accessioned and arranged into collections for display, study and reserve, how the display can be made attractive and instructive to the lay-visitor, whether a uniform system of accessioning and cataloguing can be evolved. But these are matters which mainly concern museologists and had best be discussed by them. I shall confine myself only to one aspect, viz. the need to make available hundreds of replicas of different varieties of coins – to fill the lacunae in museums and other collections, for

educative purposes, to satisfy public hobby and also for numismatic research. There is money in the proposition both for the owner and the enterpriser, all the more so if both the bodies are combined in one.

"I shall conclude my remarks by referring to the Society's programme of publishing Corpuses of Indian coins. I learn that the estimated expenditure on editing and printing each volume is Rs. 35,000. The Government of India have promised a grant to the extent of fifty per cent of the expenditure, subject to a maximum of Rs. 15,000 per volume, for the first two volumes to start with, to be published by 1966, in lieu of one hundred and fifty copies of each. The Society is now naturally worried about finding the remaining fifty per cent and has appealed to the State Governments for help. Let us hope that paucity of funds will not stand in the way of the materialization of this laudable project."

Dr. Moti Chandra then thanked Shri Ghosh for his learned and inspiring Address, the audience for their presence and patient hearing and the authorities of the All India Oriental Conference for having invited the Numismatic Society of India to hold its session at Gauhati and provided all facilities for it.

* * * *

General Business Meeting

The General Business Meeting of the Society was held the next day, on the 3rd January, 1965. In the absence of the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, Dr. Rama Rao presided over the Meeting. The following members were present:

1. Shri A. Ghosh
2. Dr. M. Rama Rao
3. Dr. Moti Chandra
4. Dr. A. K. Narain
5. Dr. V. S. Agrawala
6. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra
7. Dr. P. L. Gupta
8. Prof. Jagannath Agrawal
9. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam
10. Shri Balchandra Jain
11. Shri K. D. Bajpai
12. Shri G. H. Khare
13. Shri A. V. Pandya
14. Shri J. M. Nanavati
15. Dr. A. K. Bhattacharya
16. Shri P. N. Mohandas
17. Shri R. Subrahmanyam

18. Shri M. C. Das
19. Shri Satya Prakash
20. Shri Braja Dulal Chattopadhyaya
21. Acharya Bhagwan Deva
22. Shri Yogananda
23. Dr. A. M. Shastri
24. Shri Shivaji Singh
25. Dr. J. S. Mishra
26. Shri H. A. Phadke
27. Shri P. V. Ranade
28. Shri J. N. Tiwari
29. Shri S. N. Sahai.

Before taking up the normal business, the Meeting passed condolence resolutions on the sad death of the Late Prime Minister of India Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru and the Late Dr. John Walkar and the members stood up to observe two-minutes' silence.

General Secretary's Report

The General Secretary, Dr. A. K. Narain, then presented a report on the activities of the Society during the past year. In this report, he informed the members that the normal activities of the Society had proceeded satisfactorilly during the year. Besides attending to the increasing number of enquiries from coin-collectors and numismatics, the Society published, since the last conference, the part II of Vol. XXV of *JNSI*, and pt. I of Vol. XXVI. He assured that since pt. II of Vol. XXVI is also in press and is expected to be released shortly, the Society is maintaining the timely publication of its research journal. About the other publications, the General Secretary informed that the *Supplement to the Bibliography of Indian Coins* is expected to be released early next year and there is a proposal to bring out next year at least two monographs under the *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* series of the Society.

In connexion with Society's publications programme, the General Secretary informed the Meeting that happily at last some definite progress had been made towards the publication of the series *Corpus of Indian Coins*. He said that the Government of India have agreed to help the publication of the first two volumes by giving an assistance upto 50% of the estimated expenditure on each volume, subject to a maximum of Rs. 15,000.00 per volume. In return, the Government expected 150 copies of each volume free of cost. The Society's acceptance of the grant had already been intimated to the Government and the first instalment was likely to be released shortly.

The General Secretary, however, pointed out that some problems still remained. Most important was the problem of raising the remaining 50% of the expenditure. Further, since the Government grant was calculated on the basis of 500 copies of each volume whereas the Society proposed to print at least 1000 copies of each, the extra expenditure will have to be borne by the Society. The Society had approached various State Governments in this connection, but the General Secretary said, since the Corpus Scheme had already been very much delayed, it was proposed to take up immediately the publication of the first two volumes of the Corpus.

Speaking about the Library and the Museum of the Society, the General Secretary informed the members that the Government of India made a grant of Rs. 7,000.00 during the last financial years for the development of the Library and the Museum. Of this grant, Rs. 3000.00 were utilized in purchasing books periodicals, and Rs. 4,000.00 for negatives, photographs and electroplated specimens of coins. The grant though meagre had been most welcome and it was hoped that similar grants would be made available to the Society during the current financial year also.

Alongwith the necessity of reorganisation and development of the Library and building up a Society's Museum, the General Secretary also emphasized the need to expand Society's building. For this also the Society had prepared a plan and submitted it for financial assistance to the Central and the State Governments. Their reply was still awaited.

While reviewing the normal activities of the Society, the General Secretary had earlier informed that 17 individuals and 3 institutions were enrolled as new members since the previous meeting.

In the end, the General Secretary renewed his appeal to all the members of the Society, especially the influential members, to come to Society's help by influencing the various State Governments and charitable institutions to take more active interest in Society's affairs and to make generous donations for the various plans and programmes of the Society.

After the General Secretary's report, the Meeting approved the audited statements of accounts of the Society for the year 1963-64* as well as the estimated budget for the year 1965-66. The following explanations of the objections in the audited report were also approved.

* Appended to the Proceedings.

(a)—(for objection listed at note No. 5 of the report) Steps are being taken to realise the amount from the party concerned ; and

(b)—(for objection listed at note No. 6 of the report)—This irregularity will be avoided in future.

Then the *Honarary Fellows, Honoaary Members* and *Office-Bearers* were elected as follows :—

Honorary Fellow — Dr. V. S. Agrawala

Honorary Members—1. Shri C. R. Singhal, and
2. Shri Ajit Ghose

Office-Bearers :

(1) Vice-Chairman—Dr. M. Rama Rao

(2) Asstt. Secretary—Shri J. N. Tiwari

(3) Executive Council—

1. Shri A. Ghosh
2. Dr. A. K. Bhattacharya
3. Shri K. D. Bajpai
4. Dr. P. L. Gupta
5. Shri B. C. Jain
6. Shri J. M. Nanavati
7. Shri G. H. Khare
8. Shri P. N. Mohandas

(4) President (for the year 1965)—
Prof. Jagannath Agrawal.

After the elections, the following resolutions were passed at the Meeting :

Resolutions

1. The Society thanks the Government of India for accepting the scheme of the publication of the *Corpus of Indian Coins* in 10 volumes by the Society and for agreeing to meet half of the cost of the publication of the two volumes in the first instance. It further requests the various State Governments to financially assist the Society to complete this important project.

2. The Society, while reiterating its resolution passed at the Poona session last year, emphasizes the desirability of exempting the ancient gold coins from the Gold Control Order, and expresses its disappointment at the absence of such provision in Gold Control Act recently passed. The Society further appoints a Committee consisting of the General Secretary, the President and

Dr. P. L. Gupta to frame rules in respect of collection of gold coins for submission to the Government for consideration.

3. The Society, while re-iterating its resolution passed at the Poona session last year, requests the Government of India and the State Governments to examine the desirability of amending the Treasure Trove laws and rules framed under Treasure Trove Act to simplify the procedure regarding acquitsition and payment to the owners and finders of Treasure Troves as recommended by the Central Asvisory Board of Archaeology.
4. The Society requests the Government of India and the State Governments to place the name of the Numismatic Society's Museum on the distribution list of Treasure Trove coins, giving it the place next to the National Museum of India.
5. The Society feels that in many States, The Treasure Trove finds are indifferently treated, and they are not properly reported, examined or published. The Society therefore urges upon the State Governments to take effective steps to acquire the finds and send them to the State Museums for study and preservation.
6. It has come to the notice of the Society that large number of coins of historical interest are lying unexamined in the State Treasuries. Therefore the Society requests the State Governments to issue orders to Treasury Officers to send such coins to the State Museums for study and preservation.
7. The Society congratulates the Government of Andhra Pradesh for publishing catalogues of coins in the State Museum, Hyderabad ; and filling the extreme necessity of the publication of similar catalogues of coins deposited in other museums in the country, particularly those at Gwalior, Jaipur, Nagpur, Madras, Patna and Lucknow, it urges upon the respective State Governments to take immediate steps in this direction and complete the work with the financial assistance available to them for this purpose from the Government of India. If necessary, the Society will be glad to offer its co-operation and help.
8. To encourage the growing interest in the modern coins, the Society urges upon the Government of India to frame rules for the supply of proofs and new coins on the lines current in the British and United States Mints. The Society further feels that more liberal rules should be framed by the Government for granting licences for export of the machine—made Indian coins of the British period.

9. The Society feels the necessity of establishing an Institute of Numismatics to encourage numismatic studies and authorises the Executive Committee to prepare an exhaustive scheme and to find ways and means to implement it.
10. Resolved that an appeal for financial help for publications be made to the Central Advisory Board of Museums in the name of the Musem of the Numismatic Society of India.
11. Resolved that the next Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India may be held at its headquarters at Varanasi as an experimental measure.

Reading of Papers

Reading of Papers was taken up immediately after the Business Meeting. The President, Shri A. Ghosh, took the Chair and the following papers were read and discussed :

1. B. Ch. Chhabra—Fresh discovery of two silver coins of Alexander the Great.
2. Jagannath Agrawal—A rare clay sealing from Sunet.
3. P. V. Ranade—A copper coin of Wima Kadphises from Aurangabad.*
4. A.K. Bhattacharya—
   (1) An interesting hoard of cast coins from Harinarayanpur, West Bengal, in the Indian Museum, Calcutta;† and
   (2) Three coins of Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah of Bengal in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.†
5. R. Subrahmanyam—A coin hoard from Kamrej.
6. K. D. Bajpai— (1) A unique gold coin of Harsha ; and (2) Copper coinage of the Guptas.†
7. A. V. Pandya— A find of Kshatrapa coins from Deva in Gujarat.
8. Ajaya Mitra Shastri—Some observations on Audumbara Coinage.*
9. G. H. Khare— Some coins from the Goa State.
10. Braj Dulal Chattopadhyaya—Political significance of 'Altar' type coins of Skandagupta.

* Published elsewhere in this issue.
† These papers were read but taken back by the authors, to be submitted later for publication.

Shri Balchandra Jain informed about the discovery of a big hoard of 757 Kushāṇa Copper coins from Shahdol District of Madhya Pradesh on which he will be submitting a comprehensive paper later. Likewise, Shri Shivaji Singh informed about the discovery of a hoard of Punch-marked coins from Parsa Dayaram, Gorakhpur District, Uttar Pradesh and a paper on it is published in this issue elsewhere. 'A rare coin of Gambhira Singh of Manipur' by S. P. Basu, which was submitted for reading was taken to be read in the absence of the author. On this occasion, Acharya Bhagwan Deva of Rohtak also exhibited some coins and seals.

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Opp ; Regal Park, New Delhi–1. Phone—with 46184.

References :—Life member : Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi.
Life member : Empire of India Philatelic Society, Bombay–1.
Life member : Fine Arts & Crafts Society, New Delhi.
Member : ATA, U.S.A.
Member : BACC, Canada.
Indo-Amen ; Banglore.
IPSC. Hongkong.
National & Grindlays Bank Ltd., Lloyds Branch, New Delhi–1.

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Auditor's Report

The Secretary,
Numismatic Society of India,
B. H. U., Varanasi–5.

Dear Sir,

In terms of our report mentioned on the Balance Sheet as at 31st March, 1964 we report that we have examined the annexed Balance Sheet as at 31st March, 1964 and the annexed Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended on 1st April, 1963 to 31st March 1964 of the Numismatic Society of India, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi with books and vouchers and bid to report that we obtained all the information and explanation we have required. In our opinion the annexed Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society :

1. That Furniture Fund and Strong Room Fund amounting to Rs. 3000/- and Rs. 2,500/- has been transferred from General Fund.
2. A sum of Rs. 2,920.20 n.p. has been incurred out of General Fund of the Society.
3. A sum of Rs. 90/- has been incurred in construction of Strong Room against its specific grants of Rs. 2,500/- has been met from the General Fund.
4. The cost of Duplicator worth Rs. 570/- has been incurred out of the General Fund of the Society.
5. A sum of Rs. 85/-27 shown as Sundry Advances during March 1963 has not been recovered upto the year March, 1964. This should be realised or adjusted.
6. It is found the cheques deposited in the bank were recorded in the books after a gap of a fortnight or so.

GHANSHYAM DAS & Co.
Chartered Accountant.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF

Balance Sheet as at

Figure of the previous Year		CAPITAL AND LIABILITIES	Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
Rs.	nP.					
		Furniture Fund :				
		Maharastra Government 1962-63			3,000	00
		Library Fund :				
		Non-recurring grant from Central Govt. 1963-64			3,000	00
		Museum Fund :				
		Non-recurring grant from Central Govt. 1963-64			4,000	00
		Strong Room Fund :				
		Non-recurring grant from Central Govt. 1962-63			2,500	00
7,659	43	Special Publication Fund :			7,659	43
35,191	53	Building Fund :	35,191	53		
		Addition during the year	71	06	35,262	59
1	23	Sundry Advance			1	23
848	00	Sundry Liabilities to Editor's Honorarium Contribution Charges			1,016	00
531	00	Sundry Liabilities for Gupta Coins			531	00
455	00	Sundry Liabilities for Golden Jubilee Expenses.			455	00
13,849	11	General Fund :	8,349	11		
		Add Excess of Income over Expenditure	1,071	82	9,420	93
58,535	30	Total ...			66,846	18

A. K. NARAIN *Secretary* R. G. CHANDRA *Treasurer* J. L. PANDEY *Accountant*

INDIA B.H.U., VARANASI.
31st. March 1964.

Figure of the previous Year		ASSETS AND PROPERTIES	Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
Rs.	nP.					
34,171	00	Building			34,171	00
720	50	Medal (Dies) A/C			720	50
3,038	48	Furniture A/C :	3,038	48		
		Addition during the year	3,370	07		
			6,408	55		
		Less Depreciation for the year	488	35	5,920	20
		Duplicator A/C :	600	00		
		Less Depreciation for the year.	30	00	570	00
		Loans and Advances :				
25	00	Advance to staff	20	00		
85	27	Sundry advance	85	27	105	27
287	16	Library (At Cost).			287	16
7,000	00	Investment (at cost) National Saving Certificate			7,000	00
		Strong Room			2,590	00
		Cash and Bank Balances :				
12,764	90	With State Bank of India Ltd., C/A.	15,273	30		
442	99	Cash in hand	208	75	15,482	05
58,535	30	Total ...			66,846	18

As per our separate report on that date.

Dated 1st August, 1964
Varanasi

GHANSHYAM DAS & Co.,
Chartered Accountants.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF

Income and Expenditure Account for

Figure of the previous year		EXPENDITURE	Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
Rs.	nP.					
4,119	36	To Printing and Stationery			5,590	38
1,768	00	„ Contribution Charges			476	00
800	00	„ Postage & Telegrams			1,121	25
2,682	00	„ Salary & Allowance			3,470	91
68	20	„ Bank Commission			50	38
110	84	„ Sundry Expenses			20	93
115	13	„ Travelling and Conveyance			46	52
200	00	„ Auditor's Honorarium			140	00
1,900	00	„ Editor's Honorarium			1,100	00
15	00	„ Annual Conference			315	00
		„ Garden Expenses			31	00
150	00	„ Depreciation on Assets :				
		Duplicator	30	00		
		Furniture	488	35	518	35
8,281	50	„ Excess of Income over Expenditure			1,071	82
20,210	06	Total Rs.			13,952	54

A. K. NARAIN
Secretary

R. G. CHANDRA
Treasurer

J. L. PANDEY
Accountant

INDIA B.H.U. VARANASI.

the year ended 31st March 1964.

Figure of the previous year		INCOME	Rs.	nP.	Rs.	nP.
Rs.	nP.					
3,835	37	By Sale of Publications			2,830	34
2,023	21	„ Subscriptions			2,692	20
30	00	„ Advertisements			30	00
1,000	00	„ Donations			300	00
500	00	„ Life Membership Subscription			500	00
621	48	„ Golden Jubilees Advance				
12,200	00	„ Government Grants :				
		Recurring Grants:				
		Director of Public Instruction Orissa, Cuttak 1962-63	300	00		
		Madhya Pradesh Govt. 1962-63	300	00		
		Rajasthan Govt. 1962-63	300	00		
		Director of Public Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad 1962-63	1,000	00		
		Madras Govt. 1962-63	300	00		
		Bihar Govt. 1963-64	300	00		
		Central Govt. 1963-64	4,000	00		
		U.P. Govt. 1963-64	500	00		
		Madhya Pradesh Govt. 1963-64	300	00		
		Madras Govt. 1963-64	300	00	7,600	00
20,210	06	Total Rs.	13,952	52	13,952	54

As per our separate report on that date.

Dated 1st August, 1964.
Varanasi

GHANSHYAM DAS & CO.,
Chartered Accountants.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

P. O. Hindu University, Varanasi–5

Patorns

1. H. H. Col. Shri Brijendra Singhji Bahadur, Bahadurjung, Maharaja of Bharatpur.
2. H. H. Major Maharana Shri Raj Mayuradhwaj Singh, Maharaja Saheb of Dharangadhra.
3. Seth Sohan Lal Doogar, Jaipur.

Honorary Fellows

1. Banerjea, Dr. J. N., M.A. Ph. D.; 28, Manoharpukur Road, P. O. Kalighat, Calcutta–29.
2. Dayal, Prayag, 8A, Civil Lines, Rajamandi, Agra.
3. Mirashi, Mahamahopadhyay V. V., M. A., D. Litt., 'Vishnu Sadan', Dharmpeth, Nagpur.
4. Agrawala, Dr. V. S., M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Head of the Department of Art and Architecture, College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi-5.

Honorary Members

1. Acharya, G. V., B. A., Harsha Sadan, Ganesh Fallia, Junagadh, Saurashtra. (1922)
2. Ghose, Ajit, M.A., L.L.B., Advocate (Retd), High Court 42, Shambazar Street, Calcutta-4 (W. B.).
3. Singhal, C. R., Numismatic Officer, State Museum, Lucknow.

Life Members

1. Chandra, Dr. Rai Govind, M. A., Ph. D. (Paris), Kushastali, Varanasi Cantt.
2. Curtis, Col. James W., Numismatist, 2117, Noble Avenue, Springfield, Illinois, U. S. A.
3. Chaubey, Dr. M. C., Golbazar, Jabalpur. (1954)
4. Desai, C.M., Post Box No. 106, Rajkot (Gujrat). (1963)
5. Dongre, R. V., 384 Lamington Road, Bombay. (1964)
6. Enoki, K., Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo, Bunkyo-Ku-Tokyo, Japan. (1958)
7. Govel, K. C., B. Sc., Executive Engineer, 33/60, New Rohtak Road, Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5. (1948)
8. Hern, G. E., 37, Turney Road, West Dulwick, London S. E. 21. (1954)
9. Kapoor, Bishun Narain, Jewellers, 83, Chowk, Lucknow. (1948)
10. Gupta, Dr. P. L., M. A., Ph. D., Curator, Patna Museum, Patna. (1940)
11. Klug, Walter Milwank, 3002, North Prospect Ave, 11 Wisconsin, U. S. A. (1949)
12. Kukuranov, L. N., 1438, Tenth Avenue, San Francisco-22, California, (U. S. A.). (1949)
13. Kumar, Santosh, 8/10 'G' Block, Connaught Circus, Radial Road No. 2, New Delhi-1.
14. Mac-Dowall, Dr. D. W., Admont, Gravel Path, Berkhamsted, Herts, U. K. (1957)
15. Maheswari, Kamalesh Kumar, Maheswari House, 36, Nepensee Road, Bombay-6. (1963)

16. Maheswari, Mahavir Prasad, Maheswari House, 36, Nepensee Road, Bombay-6. (1963)

17. Mehta, F. P., Windcliff, 50, D. Poddar Road, Bombay-26. (1953)

18. Mehta, Pratap G., Jaipur Metal Industries, Jaipur. (1937)

19. Mukharjee, Bratindra Nath, 56, Jatindas Road, Calcutta-29.

20. Nahar, B. S., M. L. A., Treasurer, West Bengal P.C.C., 48, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta-13. (1939)

21. Narain, Dr. A. K., M. A., Ph. D. (London), F. R. N. S., Principal & Head of the Depertment of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, College of Indology, Hindu University, Varanasi-5. (1948)

22. Patel, I. B., L. L. B., Sarsa Via Anand, W. Rly. (1940)

23. Patil, Appasaheb Anandrao Sardar, Kalyani Kothi, Dewas, (M. P.).

24. Poddar, H. P., 34, Raja Santosh Road, Alipur, Calcutta-27. (1940)

25. Powillis Michael, A., 9545, South Leavitt Street, Chicago 45, Illinois, (U. S. A.).

26. Seksaria, Radheshyam Makhan Lal, B. Com., Seksaria Chambers, 139, Medows Street, Bombay-1. (1957)

27. Shukla, S. M., Numismatist, Ravel Building, Top Floor, Lamington Road, Bombay-4. (1943)

28. Singh, Raghubir, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt., M. P., Raghubir Niwas, P. O. Sitamau (Malwa), Madhya Pradesh. (1945)

29. Sitholey, B. S., 5, Rai Behari Lal Road, Lucknow. (1944)

30. Trivedi, Dr. H. V., 33, Sankar Bagh Colony, Banganga Road, Indore City (M. P.).

31. Stapleton, H. E. K., Sands Street, New Jersey, C. I., England. (1924)

32. Udgaonkar, (Mrs.) Padma B., M. A., Ph. D., Matunga 153A, Pavan Bihar, Bambay-19. (1957)

Ordinary Members

1. Agrawala, Jagannath, B.A., (Hons.), M.A. (Sanskrit). House No. 33, Street C, Sector 18 B, (Chandigarh). (1952)

2. Agrawala, Ratna Chandra, B. A. (Hons), M. A., Superintendent, Archaeology and Museum, P. O. Udaipur, Rajasthan. (1953)

3. Ali, Amazad, M. Dr., M.B.B.S., & M.S., D.L.D. (London). Mukharamjahi Road, Warangal, (A. P.). (1963)

4. Amarnath, P. K., 96, Range Pillai Street, Pondicherry. (1952)

5. Arya, Surendra Verma, B. Sc. (Eng)., M. S., (U. S. A.). Assistant Professor in Agricultural Engineering, Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, (West Bengal). (1959)

6. Babel, Umarao Singh, Shewaram & Sons, 323, Jawahar Road, Indore City, (M. P.). (1963)

7. Bagh, Dr. M. L., Bagh Clinic, Ajmer. (1958)

8. Bajpai, Krishna Datta, M. A., Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaology, University of Saugor, Saugor, (M. P.). (1952)

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Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Punjab University, Chandigarh. (1963)

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Junagadh Museum, Junagadh. (1956)

217. The Curator,
Lady Wilson Museum, P.O. Dharampur, Distt. Surat. (1956)

218. The Curator,
M. G. M. Museum, Raipur, M. P. (1957)

219. The Curator,
Mysore Government Museum, Banglore. (1956)

220. The Curator,
Patna Museum, Patna. (1955)

221. The Curator,
Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. (1957)

222. The Curator,
Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain. (1956)

223. The Curator,
Watson Museum, Rajkot, Kathiawar. (1956)

224. The Curotor,
Hampi Museum, Department of Archaeology, P. O. Kamalapuram, Distt. Bellary. (1956)

225. The Curator,
Assam State Museum, Gauhati. (1957)

226. Curator,
Dacca Museum, Ramna, Dacca, East Pakistan. (1953)

227. The Curator,
Chandradhari Museum, The Mansarovar (Dighi House), Darabhanga, Behar.

228. Curator,
Punjab Government Museum, Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala. (1964)

229. Curator,
Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. (1964)

230. Curator,
Sri Rajni Parekh Arts College, Khambhat, Gujrat State. (1963)

231. Curator,
State Museum, Dhubela, Nowgong, M.P. (1962)

232. Superintendent,
Department of Archaeology, Excavations Branch, Nagpur. (1961)

233. Superintendent,
Department of Archaeology, Western Circle, Baroda. (1959)

234. Superintendent,
Archaeological Survey of India, South Eastern Circle, Adikmet, University Road, Hyderabad-7. (1954)

235. Superintendent,
Archaeology & Museum, Jaipur State, Jaipur. (1956)

236. Superintendent,
Saraswati Bhavan, Udaipur. (1956)

237. Superintendent,
Archaeology Department, Central Circle, Agra. (1955)

238. Superintendent,
Research and Museums, Bhubaneswar, Orissa. (1940)

239. Superintendent,
Department of Archaeology, Temple Survey Project, Bhopal. (1954)

240. Superintendent,
Archaeology & Museum, Udaipur Circle, Udaipur. (1955)

241. Superintendent,
Archaeological Survey of India, South Western Circle, Aurangabad. (1962)

242. Director,
Museum & Picture Gallery, Baroda. (1950)

243. Asstt. Director,
Archaeology and Museums, Indore. (1957)

244. The Director,
National Museum, Janpath, New Delhi. (1961)

245. Director,
State Museum, Lucknow. (1958)

246. Director,
Institute of Archaeology, Vallabh Vidyanagar,
(Via Anand) Bombay State. (1949)

247. Director,
Mithila Institute of Post Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, Darbhanga, Bihar. (1957)

248. Director, General of Archaeology in India,
New Delhi-11. (1955)

249. Director,
Archaeology and Museum, Public Garden, Trivandrum. (1960)

250. Director,
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. (1957)

251. Director,
Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. (1954)

252. Dy. Director,
Archaeology and Museum, Raipur, Madhya Pradesh.

253. Librarian,
Mysore University, Mysore. (1956)

254. Librarian,
University Library, Bombay. (1954)

255. Librarian,
University Library, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi-5. (1940)

256. Librarian,
University of Allahabad, Allahabad. (1959)

257. Librarian,
School of Oriental & African Studies University of London, London W.C.1. (1948)

258. Librarian,
Ravenshaw College, Kanika Library, Calcutta-3. (1951)

259. Librarian,
Nagpur University, Nagpur. (1940)

260. Librarian,
Meerut College Library, Meerut, U.P. (1946)

261. Librarian,
Tagore Library, Lucknow Uuiversity, Lucknow. (1950)

262. Librarian,
The India Institute Library, Departmen of Bodlien Library, Oxford, England. (1960)

263. Librarian,
Common Wealth Relations Office, King Charles Street, Whitehall, London S.W.1. (1952)

264. Librarian,
Calcutta University Library, Ashutosh Bldg., Calcutta. (1945)

265. Librarian,
Bursar University of Mysore, Mysore. (1953)

266. Librarian,
East Punjab University Library, Chandigarh-3. (1942)

267. Librarian,
Delhi University Library, University Building, Delhi-8. (1957)

268. Librarian,
Vishwabharti, P. O. Santiniketan, Distt. Birbhum, West Bengal. (1964)

269. Librarian,
Andhra University Library, Waltair. (1959)

270. Librarian,
University of Saugor, Saugor, M. P. (1961)

271. Librarian,
University of Jabalpur, Jabalpur. (1961)

272. Librarian,
University of Gorakhpur, Gorakhpur. (1961)

273. Librarian-in-charge,
Nava Nalanda Mahavihara, Nalanda, Patna. (1961)

274. Librarian,
Ranchi University Library, Ranchi. (1961)

275. Mukherjee Library,
10, Sarbakhan Road, Calcutta. 37.

276. Assistant Secretary,
North East Frontieer Agency, Secretariat, Shillong. (1961)

277. Asstt. Librarian,
University of Burdawan, Burdwan, West Bengal.

278. Asstt. Secretary,
Gujrat Vidya Sabha, Raikhad Ahmedabad. (1949)

279. Asstt. Librarian,
Institute of Indic Studies Library, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

280. Secretary,
American Numismatic Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York City. (1940)

281. Secretary,
Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Town Hall, Bombay. (1918)

282. Secretary,
State Board for Historical Records and Ancient Monuments, Government of Bombay, Secretariate Record Office, Elphinston College Building, Bombay-1. (1956)

283. Spink and Sons,
5-7, King Strect, St. James, London, S.W.1. (1952)

284. Principal,
G. D. College, Begusarai. (1957)

285. Principal,
D.S.C. Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, Raipur, M.P. (1959)

286. Principal,
Government College, Ajmer.

287. Librarian,
Sri Venketeswara University Library, P. O. Box No. 17, Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh. (1962)

288. Librarian,
Smt. Hansa Mehta Library, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda. (1962)

289. Librarian,
Rajshahi University Library, East Pakistan. (1962)

290. The Librarian,
Vidyalankara University of Ceylon, Kelaniya, Ceylon. (1963)

291. Head of the Department of Anc. Ind. History Culture and Archaeology, Vikrama University, Ujjain. (1961)

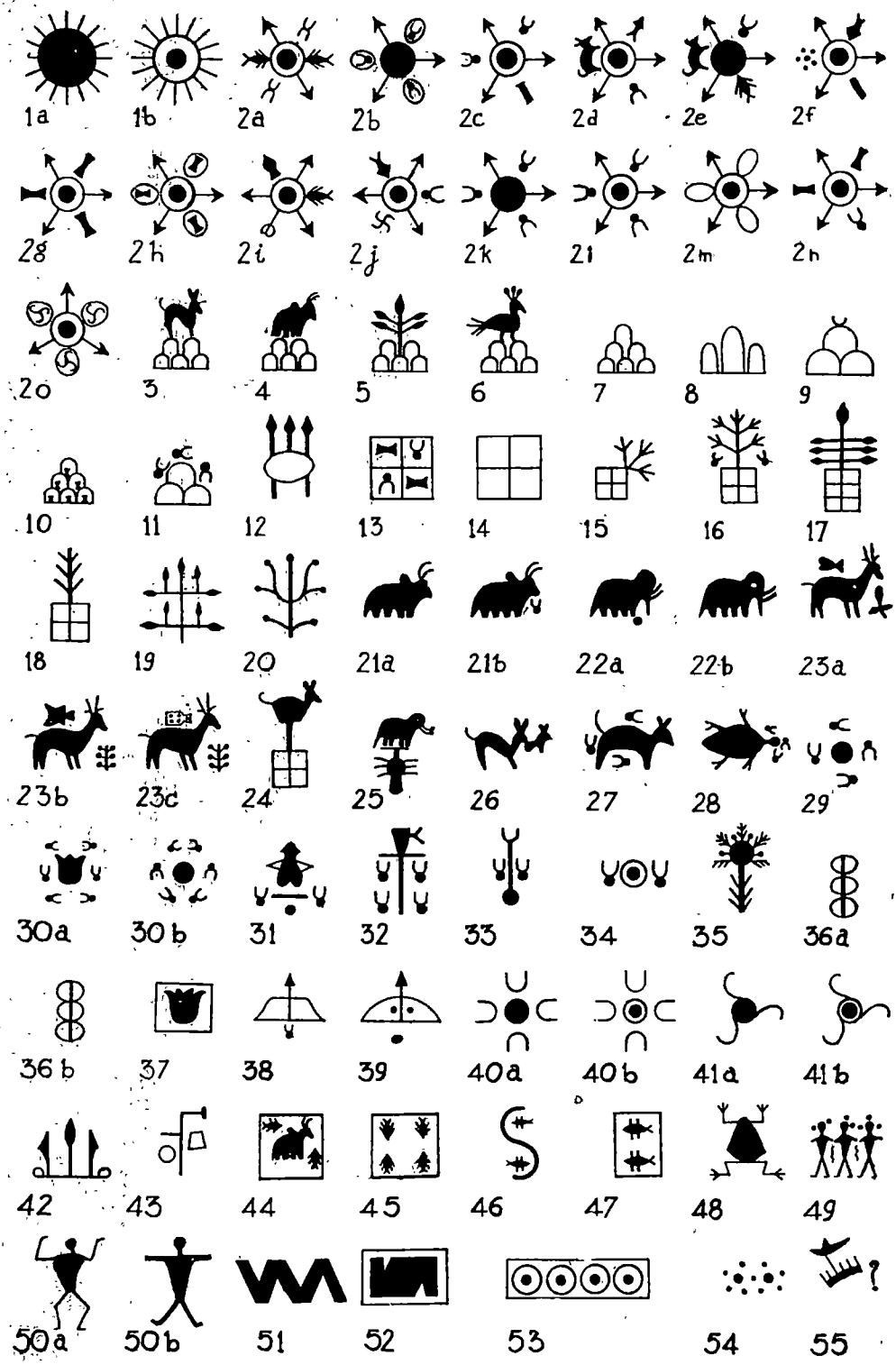
292. Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History Culture and Archaeology, University of Allahabad, Allahabad. (1961)

293. Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Patna, Patna. (1959)

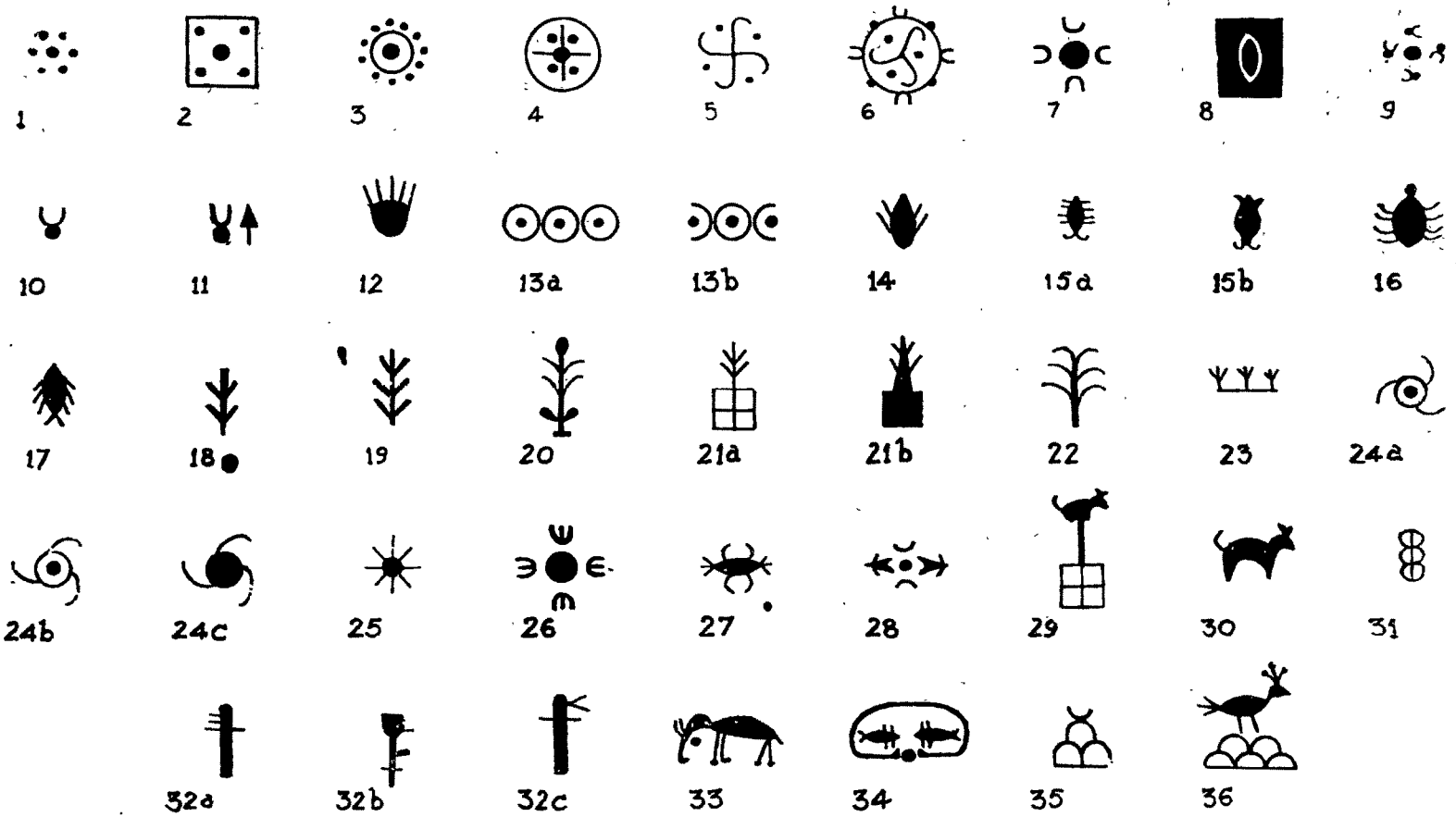
294. M/S B. A. Seaby, Ltd., 65, Great Portland Street, London W. 1.

295. The High Commissioner for Australia, Connaught Place, New Delhi-1.

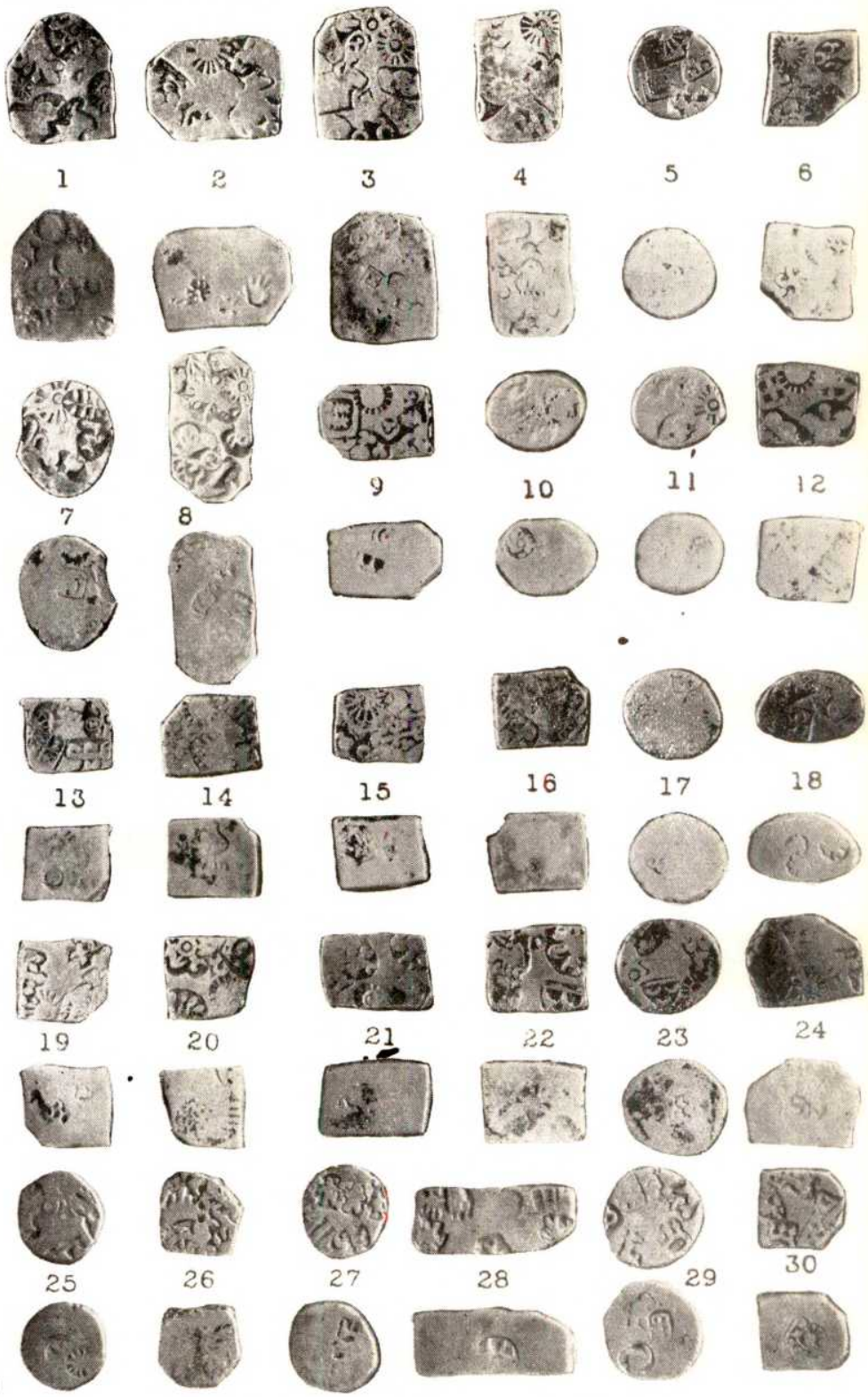
296. M/S Krishna H. Prodhan, 4 Prodhan's Cottage, Darjeeling, India.



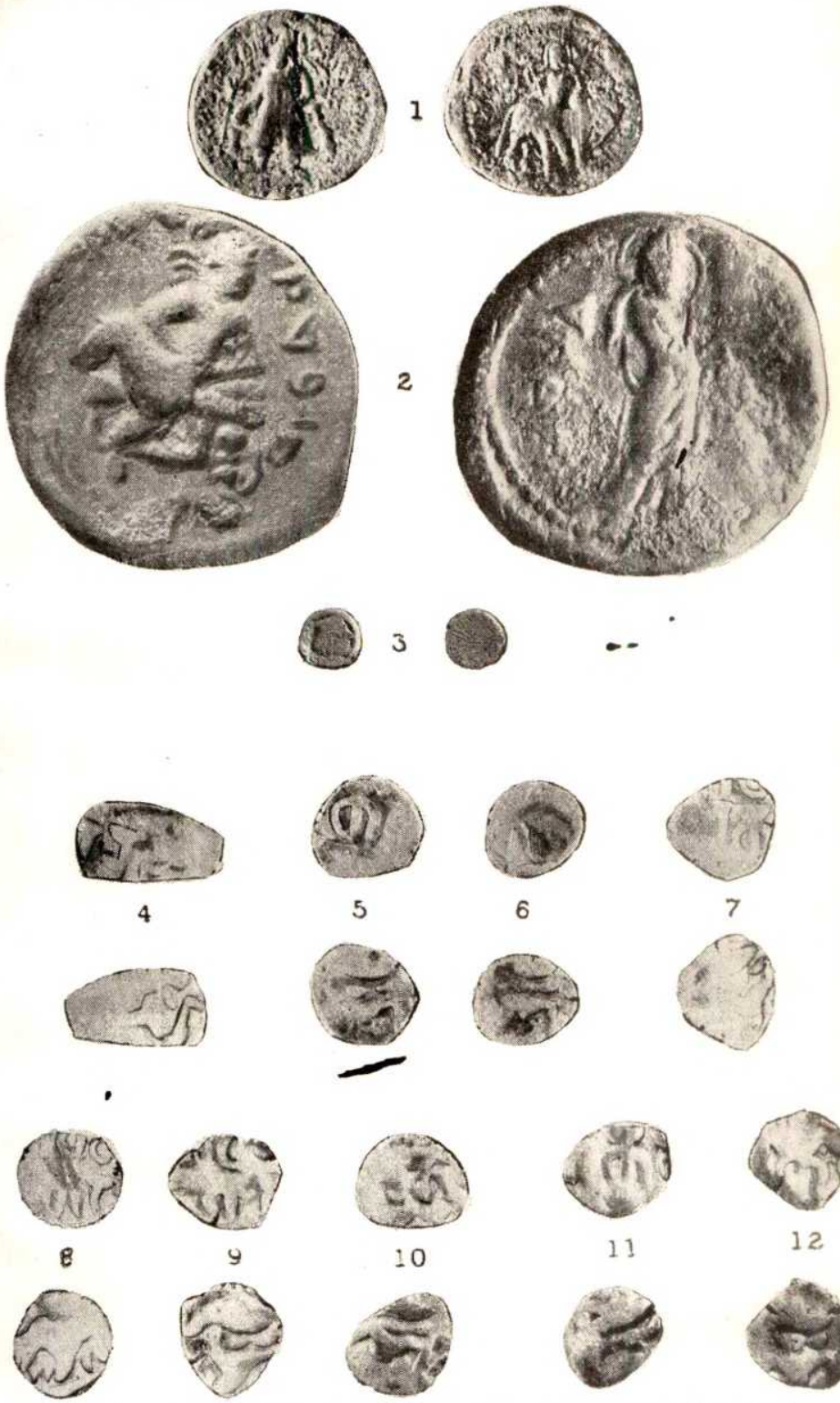
Obverse Symbols on the Punchmarked Coins from Parasā Dayārāma



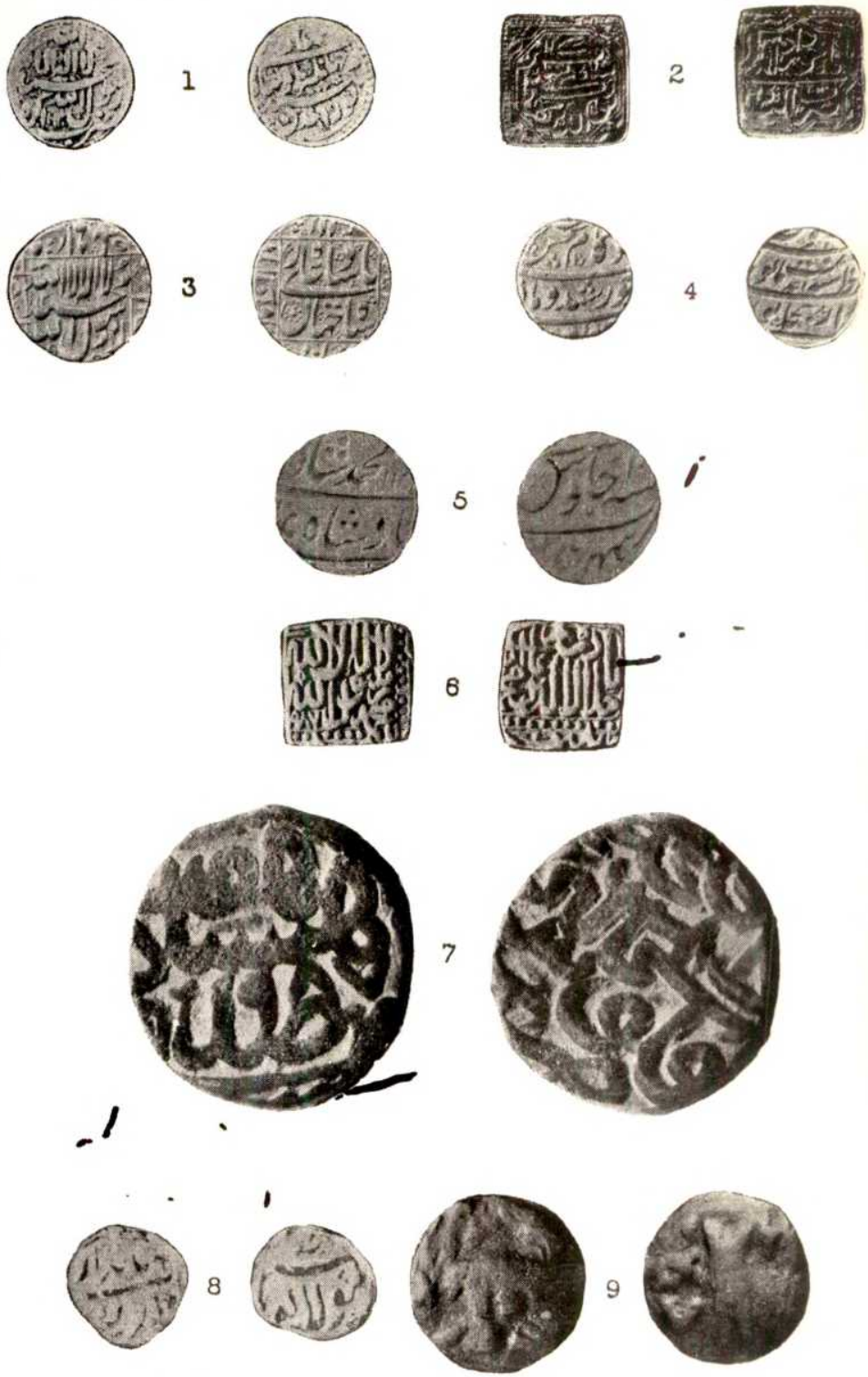
Reverse Symbols on the Punchmarked Coins from Parasā Dayāram



Punchmarked Coins from Parasā Dayārāma



Coin of Vima Kadphises (1); Coin of Huvishka (2) An Unnoticed Western Kshatrapa Coin (3); Ādivarāha Coins (4-12)



Remarkable Mughal Coins in Lucknow Museum (1-5) ; A Unique Gold Coin of Akbar (6) ; A Kalinjar mint issue of Akbar (7) ; Copper Coin of Jehandar Shah of Sholapur mint (8) ; An Electrum Coin of Chalukya Vikramaditya (9).


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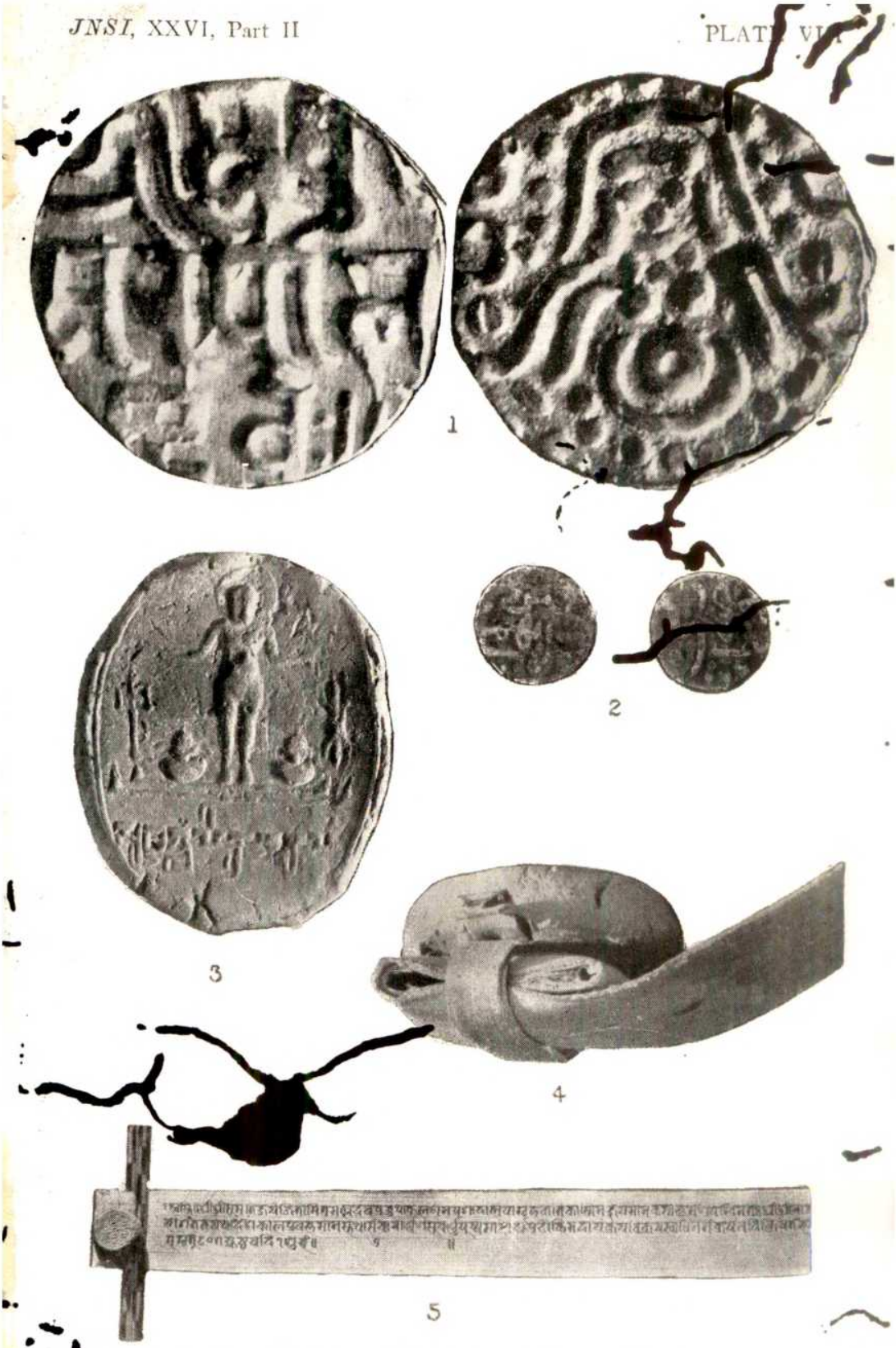

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Note on some Legends of the Bahmani Coins (1-13) ; Copper Coins of Burhan Nizam Shah III (9-24).



Dateless Copper Coins of Bahmani Kings (1-9) ; New Type Copper Coins of Muhammad Quli Kutub Shah (10-12) ; Pallava Coin (13) ; Bronze Medallion issued by the Bombay Mint (14)



Coin of Kumarapala (1); A Bahmani Coin (2); Sealing bearing *Atharvanika-Charana* (3); Method of affixing Seals to Documents (4-5)
(by Courtesy Bharat Kala Bhavan, B. H. U. Varanasi).